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ABSTRACT

The results of a more than two-year operation of a new kind of day care service known as the Day Care Neighbor Service are presented and evaluated. This service makes it possible to intervene at the neighborhood level where families privately and without benefit of a social agency make day care arrangements with neighborhood "sitters" or caregivers. The approach is indirect and makes use of informal relationships to provide a service that is decentralized to the level of the neighborhood. The purpose of the service is to strengthen existing child care arrangements, recruit new day caregivers, and facilitate the information and referral processes by which new arrangements are made. Some facts gleaned from this study include: (1) The need for day care consists of a lack of facilities and problems in making arrangements; (2) The informal matchmaking system exists and should be left intact; (3) The feasibility and effectiveness of the service depend on the skill of the consultant in the use of consultation method; (4) The service is effective in stabilizing and improving the quality of private family day care arrangements; (5) The Day Care Neighbor Service has a unique applicability; and (6) The Day Care Neighbor Service is a program adjunct that can be attached to a variety of settings. (CK)

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A DAYCARE NEIGHBOR'S DREAM OF GLORY

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MATCHMAKING IN NEIGHBORHOOD DAY CARE:

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE DAY CARE NEIGHBOR SERVICE

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With an Epilogue by a Day Care Neighbor:

"Other People's Children"

by Anita Witt

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This monograph is a report to the U. S. Children's Bureau submitted by the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System. The Day Care Neighbor Service is a service component of the Field Study. The Field Study is a research project of the Tri-County Community Council, in cooperation with Portland State University.

The Field Study is supported by Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287 from the Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Portland, Oregon
October 30, 1970

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

From its inception this project has been supported by grants from the United States Children's Bureau. The Day Care Neighbor Service grew out of the "Day Care Exchange Project" (Child Welfare Demonstration Grant #D-135, February 1, 1964 to Febriary 28, 1967) and was continued and developed as a service component of the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System (Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287, March 1, 1967 to February 28, 1971). We are especially indebted to Dr. Charles P. Gershenson, and to the many others associated with the Research Division of the Children's Bureau who gave us moral support, as well as money, and who had the courage to back an unorthodox innovation in service delivery as well as a long-term program of research in informal day care behavior.

This report is the product of group effort by the entire staff, to whom I am deeply grateful. Credit for the original idea of the Day Care Neighbor Service goes largely to Alice H. Collins, who developed the innovation on a pilot basis as a modification of the Day Care Exchange Project of which she was Project Director. Then when it was decided to carry out the Day Care Neighbor Service on a full-scale basis as part of a major field study of neighborhood day care, Alice Collins became the Director of the Service. In this capacity she also has been concerned with the problem of how to articulate the method so that the innovation could be learned and used by others. This effort led to publication of The Day Care Neighbor Service: A Handbook for the Organization and Operation of a New Approach to Family Day Care, of which Alice Collins was the principal author.

Eunice L. Watson -- co-author of this report, also was with the project from the beginning. She was the social work consultant who, second only to the day care neighbors themselves, did most of the work of the Day Care Neighbor Service. Her skill and diligence made this report possible. She set up the record-keeping system that provided the data for this report, she collected most of the data, she wrote the descriptions of the day care neighbors and of the service that appear in Chapters Three and Four, and she participated fully in interpreting the results of the data analysis.

The day care neighbors, of course -- the home-centered heroines of this story -- deserve the credit for the volume of results that are reported in this study. They taught us as much as they learned from us. Anita Witt's epilogue to this report shows what the service meant to one of the day care neighbors.

A deep sense of gratitude goes to Betty Donoghue, Nancy Mancini, Sue O'Keefe and Pauline Robinson who, through every chapter, cared about the accuracy of the data, of the analysis, of the reporting, and of the final typed presentation. Special recognition also is

due Dr. Robert Butman who did a great many cross-tabulations of the data and whose preliminary work helped to show which results would hold up under sub-group analysis. Though not responsible for this report, Dr. Christoph M. Heinicke gave valuable consultation to the project from the beginning, and Dr. Rolfe LaForge gave generously of his counsel and support.

Once you begin acknowledging contributions to a project of this kind there is almost no end to it. Originally the project started at Friendly House, a neighborhood center in northwest Portland. Gerald Frey wrote the original grant proposal for the Day Care Exchange Project. The Tri-County Community Council is the grantee institution and primary sponsor of the project, for which we are indebted to Carl V. Sandoz, its Executive Director, as well as to Martha Ann Adelsheim and Dr. Arnold Labby, each of whom served as Chairman of the Council's Advisory Committee for the project. Mildred Kane, Virginia O'Toole, Claire Rives, and Frances Ousley of the Fruit and Flower Day Nursery made possible an application of the Day Care Neighbor Service to their auspices. And finally I am indebted to Dr. Gordon Hearn, Dean of the School of Social Work at Portland State University, for his continued support of me in undertaking the Field Study.

The reader is entitled to know that this study of the Day Care Neighbor Service does not represent an evaluation of an independent outside investigator. I have been involved with the project since the fall of 1965, first as a research consultant to the Exchange Project, and then as Project Director of the Field Study in which the service was elaborated, replicated, and used to provide an entree to the neighborhood for longitudinal studies of private family day care arrangements. The Day Care Neighbor Service was not designed primarily as a demonstration project, but as a service component in a research project. My enthusiasm for the idea of the Day Care Neighbor Service has been counterbalanced by a researcher's apprehension about over-promoting an approach that requires further evaluation. This report is primarily descriptive, however, and an effort has been made to point out the limitations.

Arthur C. Emlen
Portland, Oregon
October 30, 1970

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This monograph describes and evaluates the results obtained from a more than two-year operation of a new kind of day care service known as the Day Care Neighbor Service. Carried out in Portland, Oregon under the auspices of the Tri-County Community Council and Portland State University School of Social Work, the Day Care Neighbor Service is part of a larger research and demonstration project known as the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System, which is supported by the United States Children's Bureau.[1] The results demonstrate that a viable neighborhood approach to day care has been developed and that the approach has wide applicability to those who share their child care responsibilities with persons outside of the family.

The Idea of the Day Care Neighbor Service

The development of day care programs in the United States has been thought of largely in terms of day care centers and agency-supervised programs of family day care. The aim is to provide a complete day care service that meets the developmental needs of children. The approach usually involves providing a complete range of health services, social services, and educational programs for the families who use the day care facility.

The Day Care Neighbor Service is a different kind of day care service. It does not directly provide day care, it does not supervise day care, and

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[1] Originally developed on a pilot basis by the Day Care Exchange Project (Child Welfare Demonstration Grant #D-135), the service was further developed by the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System (Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287). Both of these grants have been from the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

it does not even require the day care consumer to make contact with an agency. The service makes it possible to intervene at the neighborhood level where families privately and without benefit of a social agency make day care arrangements with neighborhood "sitters" or caregivers. The approach is indirect and makes use of informal relationships to provide a service that is decentralized to the level of the neighborhood. The purpose of the service is to strengthen existing child care arrangements, recruit new day caregivers and facilitate the information and referral processes by which new arrangements are made.

The method of intervention[2] involves a creative use of consultation by social workers who avoid working directly with mothers or sitters; instead they provide consultation to "day care neighbors"[3] who, in turn, help the potential users and givers of care to find each other and to make mutually satisfactory arrangements.

These neighborhood women are discovered in the act not only of giving child care themselves, but also of being helpful to their neighbors in meeting daily babysitting crises. In any neighborhood one is apt to find such home-centered women who know the other caregivers in their localities and who are actively interested in the lives of others. Responding at moments of need, they serve as a maximally available third party to help neighbors with the process of making child care arrangements.

Most of the families reached by the service do not use organized day care programs. Rather they make supplemental child care arrangements

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[2] The method and technique of intervention have been described in Alice H. Collins, Eunice L. Watson, The Day Care Neighbor Service: A Handbook for the Organization and Operation of a New Approach to Family Day Care, (Portland: Tri-County Community Council, 1969).

[3] This term was coined to refer to persons who, though they were discovered to be performing a natural neighboring role, were recruited by the project to develop that role as part of a service. In this report the term usually refers to the particular women who participated as day care neighbors in the project.

either by bringing the caregiver into their own homes or by taking the children over to the homes of neighbors. Both kinds of day care are addressed by the service -- home care and out-of-home care by nonrelatives -- though primarily the latter, which customarily is referred to as "family day care." The service attempts to facilitate the way in which these private family day care arrangements are made and to do so in such a way as to strengthen the quality and stability of the care provided.

The Day Care Neighbor Service developed as a possible solution for a dual problem of unmet needs which is found in many neighborhoods -- that of high demand for family day care despite underuse of potential caregivers. Early in the history of the Day Care Neighbor Service it was discovered that an agency-based central exchange would fail to recruit and make use of many of the best caregivers which neighborhoods have to offer.[4] At the same time an informal, unofficial system of recruitment and matchmaking was found to be operating. What seemed destined to fail at the agency level of operation was made instead into a completely decentralized operation in which all matchmaking was facilitated by the day care neighbors. All requests that did not come directly to the day care neighbors were turned over to them, and they in turn recruited caregivers to meet the demand.

Thus the discovery that there exists a natural neighboring role in day care matters was capitalized on as the basis for building a service. More than a dozen day care neighbors were discovered and provided with skilled social work consultation in their homes and by telephone. They were paid a token fee of $25 a month. With this kind of support these

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[4] Alice H. Collins, "Some Efforts to Improve Private Family Day Care," Children, 13 (July-August 1966), 135-140.
Alice H. Collins, Arthur C. Emlen, Eunice L. Watson, "The Day Care Neighbor Service: An Interventive Experiment," Community Mental Health Journal, 5 (June, 1969), 219-224.

day care neighbors were encouraged to continue, to improve, and to increase their neighboring activities. The social work consultants confined their contacts to the day care neighbors, and most of the day care neighbors continued to perform their roles for the duration of the demonstration, reaching a large number of private family day care arrangements.

The Purpose and Scope of this Report

The organization and operation of the Day Care Neighbor Service have already been described in the Handbook.[5] It tells how to discover day care neighbors in new neighborhoods and how to work with them. The Handbook is a response to the question, "How do you do it?" It concentrates on the method, on the criteria used, and on the problems one might encounter.

The present report concentrates on the results and on evaluating whether the results demonstrate the feasibility of the Day Care Neighbor Service. "Does it work?" is the question to which this report responds by analyzing the volume of service requested and the outcomes of the requests. The report describes and compares the day care neighbors, as well as the kinds of requests made by those whom the service reached. For the most part, the study relies upon description and on analysis of the monthly records kept by the consultants and the day care neighbors throughout the demonstration. The report goes beyond description, however, and makes such evaluative inferences about the success of the service as the data appear to warrant.

What was demonstrated by the project, and what was not? At the outset it should be made clear that only the feasibility of the service is

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[5] Collins and Watson, op.cit.

being evaluated in this study.[6] Primarily this will consist of showing that in operation the Day Care Neighbor Service did perform the four basic functions it purported to perform, as shown in Figure 1. Briefly they are:

(1) information and referral

(2) recruitment

(3) matchmaking

(4) maintenance and education

Figure 1 here

No effort was made to evaluate the effectiveness of the service to achieve its child development objectives shown in Figure 1. These aims are stated because of their importance in guiding the service, but the effects on the child were not assessed by systematic study, much less under conditions that would permit attributing any changes to the contribution of the service itself. In order to have made a differential assessment of the effectiveness of the intervention, experimental and longitudinal tests would have been required, showing that the intervention made a difference in contrast to some control groups of persons who were not so influenced, and that the effects were of some lasting value. Attempts to answer questions about effectiveness -- questions such as, "Did the care users and their children manage more successfully than they would have without the service?" -- were precluded by the purposes for which the service was developed, the circumstances of its use, the stage of the investigation, and by natural constraints on the use of more powerful research designs.

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[6] The U.S. Children's Bureau has pioneered in the development of feasibility research for evaluating demonstration projects. See Mary E. MacDonald and Charles Garvin, The Demonstration Project in Child Welfare (Chicago: University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, 1966). For other useful discussions of evaluative research, see Elizabeth Herzog, Some Guidelines for Evaluative Research, Children's Bureau Publication No. 375-1959 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959). Also Edward A. Suchman, Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs (N.Y.: Russell Sage, 1967).

FUNCTIONS OF THE DAY CARE NEIGHBOR SERVICE	CHILD DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES
Information and Referral Providing referral information, encouragement and support to families who are looking for child care resources.	To help families to make better day care decisions than they otherwise might
Recruitment Recruiting caregivers for: (a) family day care in neighborhood homes, and (b) home care in the child's own home.	To recruit, develop, and use the neighborhood's best candidates for the day caregiver role
Matchmaking Facilitating the process by which matchmaking takes place between day care users and neighborhood family day caregivers.	To increase the likelihood that the child care arrangement will be satisfactory to mother, caregiver and child, and will provide a stable and favorable situation for the child
Maintenance and Education Helping caregivers and users to deal with problems that arise (occasionally may include responding protectively to abuse, neglect, and inadequate supervision).	To have a favorable effect on the caregivers' and users' child-rearing attitudes and abilities and communication skills (occasionally may include providing a neighborhood-level protective service sometimes with referral to community agencies)

Figure 1. Levels of Program Objectives

The effectiveness of the Day Care Neighbor Service would be especially difficult to assess because the intervention adds such a small increment of change into the natural situation it is designed to affect. Some social programs create powerful new environments designed to have a massive impact upon a small number of persons, and the results are apt to be dramatic. By contrast as an instrument of change the Day Care Neighbor Service is designed to achieve limited results with a large number of neighborhood contacts with a small unit cost. It operates on the principle of making maximum use of the least effort necessary to strengthen ongoing social processes without disturbing the neighborhood status of the behavior involved. Though it reaches systems of behavior that have been relatively inaccessible to organized day care programs, the noticeable effect may be small when the objective is, for example, to help families to make better day care decisions than they otherwise might, or to provide a child with a more favorable and stable situation than he otherwise might have.

It is always tempting to believe that results are attributable to the power of the intervention, but the results of the Day Care Neighbor Service may also be seen as attributable to the effective use of the service by the givers and users of day care. And the outcome of the day care arrangement is probably even more importantly the result of interactions between caregiver and care user. This point is illustrated in Figure 2. The outcome data illustrated in the figure represent the effects of:

(1) the input from the service (that is the interventions of the day care neighbors and their consultants),

(2) the contribution of additional referral sources in the community,

(3) the use of the service,

(4) the role behaviors of caregivers and care users vis-a-vis each other, as determined by

(5) their own life circumstances, attitudes and behavior patterns.

Figure 2 here

It is important to recognize that the results reported in this study represent a product of the entire system of behaviors shown in Figure 2, And this evaluation only purports to show that the Day Care Neighbor Service "works" as a part of that system.

Indeed, it is the operation of the system that is being assessed when evaluating the feasibility of a program model. To imagine a new form of social service offers no guarantee that the idea will work when put to the test, no matter how plausible the idea may seem. Many elements and conditions must fit together in a favorable exchange, sometimes in unanticipated ways, to create and sustain a viable innovation. The complexities of social behavior are such that one is never sure until one tries it, whether some contribution to the natural flow of human affairs will be a dynamic for improvement. So it is not a trivial question to ask whether a service idea can be made operational. First it must work in the feasibility sense before issues of effectiveness, such as improving the rearing of children, even become relevant.

Also, to say that a program is feasible implies that it can be replicated. An affirmative answer to the question, "Does it work?" would imply not only that it worked this time, but that it could be done again -- that it was not a fluke, but a replicable service. Just because an innovation works once in the hands of its creators under the special condi-

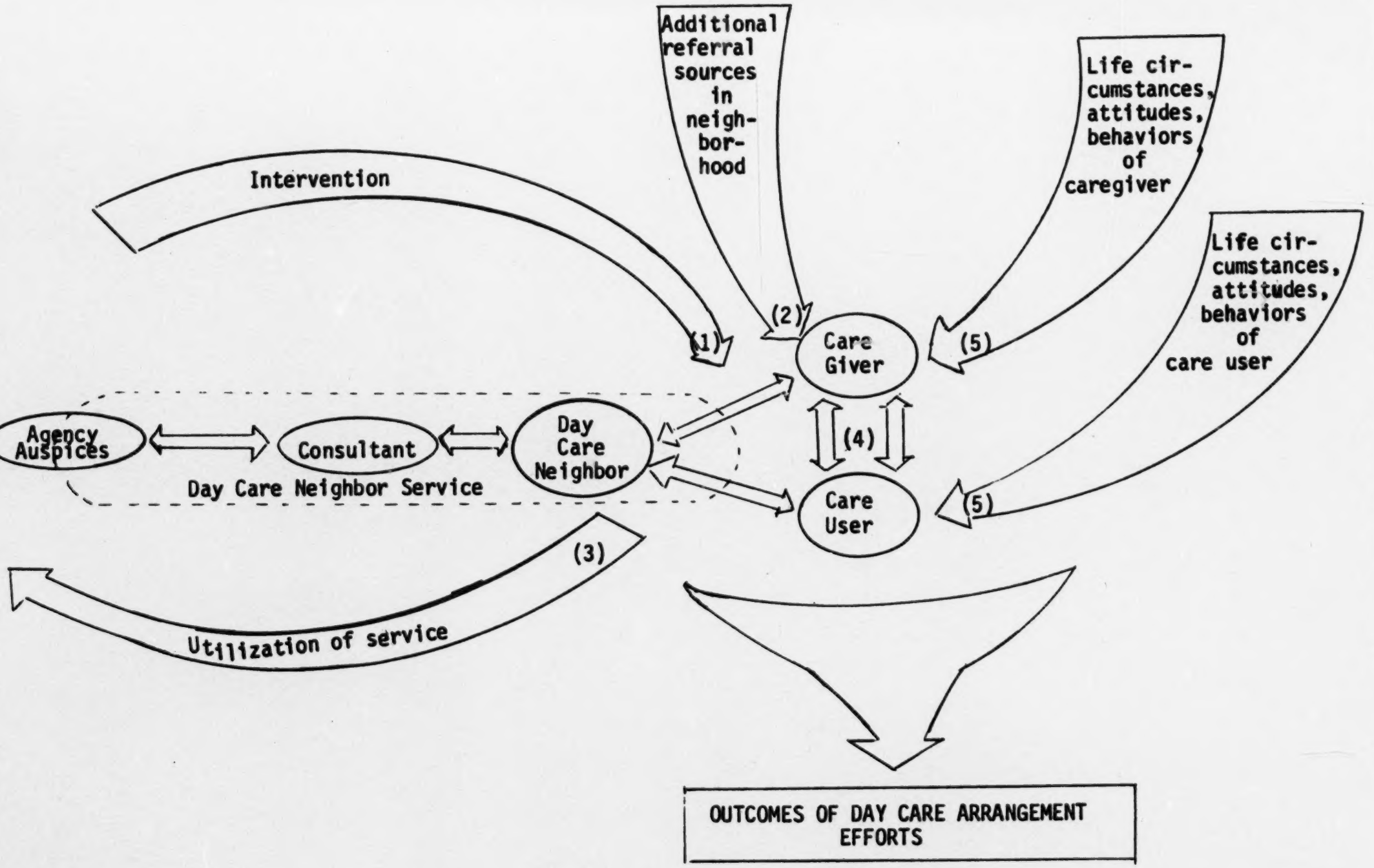

Figure 2. The System of Behaviors that Lead to Arrangement Outcomes

tions of its original development does not mean that it will happen the same way again.

How much confidence can one have that the results reported in this monograph would be repeated if the service were replicated by others under new conditions? That depends on whether one is able to generalize about the conditions under which the results were obtained. Replication must be assessed analytically, relative to the sources of variation. The results reported in this monograph represent evidence from an initial demonstration and a partial replication. The extent to which replication has occurred, and the extent to which it has not, need to be stated now in order to encourage an appropriate balance of confidence and skepticism regarding the results reported here. Furthermore, others who might wish to conduct a similar program should approach their own replication with awareness of the different conditions under which it is being tried.

The Day Care Neighbor Service was developed and pre-tested with two day care neighbors during the last year of operation of the Day Care Exchange Project in 1966. The service was expanded by six day care neighbors, still in the same geographic area of Portland, and continued as part of the Field Study. Then a replication was attempted in a new geographic area of Portland. This replication of the Day Care Neighbor Service became an adjunct program of the Fruit and Flower Day Nursery, a day care center. The Fruit and Flower Day Care Neighbor Service extended the reach of that agency into the southeast part of Portland, and a regular member of the social work staff of that agency became a consultant for two of the eight new day care neighbors in southeast Portland. The "replication" did have the feel of a replication as staff selected the day care neighbors consciously and deliberately on the basis of the criteria that had been

developed,[7] as the consultation method was communicated to a new consultant and linked to new agency auspices, and as the idiosyncracies of new neighborhoods were encountered.

The results of the geographic replication were surprisingly parallel in the volume of requests encountered and the outcomes reported, and gave the staff new confidence in the replicability of the service and its methods. However, it must be recognized that there was continuity of professional staff throughout. Evidence from which one could generalize more confidently about the general feasibility of the service would require replication also by new staff in the consultant role, under new auspices, on a larger scale (city-wide) for longer than two years, in neighborhoods with other ethnic and socioeconomic compositions, and with yet new kinds of day care neighbors.

The Organization of this Report

So far, this chapter has presented the idea of the Day Care Neighbor Service, as well as the purpose and scope of this monograph. To summarize, there are three levels of objectives of the Day Care Neighbor Service, of which only the first two fall within the scope of study:

Level One: To reach those persons who make private family day care arrangements.

Level Two: To provide them with a service that will facilitate the way in which they make those arrangements.

Level Three: To improve the quality of care received by the children involved.

The first objective is discussed in Chapter Two. A rationale is presented for trying to reach the users and givers of private family day

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7 Collins and Watson, Handbook, op.cit. pp. 11-18

care. This represents a justification for the Day Care Neighbor Service in relation to the target population to which the service is designed to be applicable. The extent to which the service successfully reached those persons is assessed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Three describes the conditions under which the service was carried out and the data collected, giving perspective to the nature of the data. Chapter Three also provides an introduction to the overall results and to the sample sizes used in the study.

The second objective has already been specified as involving the four primary functions of the service. In Chapter Four the results are evaluated to assess the extent to which these primary functions of the service were performed, and the day care neighbors are described and compared.

Finally, in Chapter Six recommendations are made for further replication of the service. Emphasis is given both to possibilities and limitations in utilization of the Day Care Neighbor Service as an adjunct of day care programs.

CHAPTER TWO

WHY IS A DAY CARE NEIGHBOR SERVICE NEEDED?

Is there really a need for a Day Care Neighbor Service? The answer is "yes," and for these reasons:

(1) There are large numbers of persons who make private family day care arrangements.

(2) There are valid reasons why they do, and will continue to make private arrangements.

(3) Those who use and give private family day care experience problems in making and maintaining their arrangements.

Numbers of Persons in Private Day Care

What happens when the family reaches beyond its own kinship resources for assistance with the care and rearing of its children? There are only three basic kinds of settings in which the supplemental care of a child is apt to take place:

1. He may remain at home and someone may come in to take care of him in his own home. This is called "home care," meaning his own home.
2. He may go out to the home of someone who lives in the neighborhood. This is traditionally referred to as "family day care" since the care takes place in the home of a family other than his own.
3. He may go to a center organized for the care of a group of children in a building that is not a private residence. This is sometimes referred to as "group care" but since neighborhood homes are also used to provide group care for sizeable groups of children it is perhaps more accurately

referred to as "center care."

It has not been customary to speak of home care or informal neighborhood babysitting arrangements as "day care," yet if the concept of day care is extended to include all kinds of supplemental child care by non-relatives, then it is possible to delineate the target population for which day care programs of some kind need to be developed. The size of this target population -- or at least that portion involving full-time maternal employment -- is suggested by the census data shown in Table 1.[1] The percentage of children in each kind of setting is shown for four age groups. Both home care and family day care are private arrangements almost exclusively. Only a small percent of family day care is agency supervised or even licensed. These statistics will change when more day care facilities become available, but it is likely that home care and private family day care will remain important as day care resources.[2]

Table 1 here

The Reasons Private Arrangements are Used

It is widely believed that the development of publicly subsidized day care facilities with high quality programs could compete successfully with the informal arrangements that most mothers are accustomed to making. The

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[1] This table is an adaptation of Tables A-2 and A-3 from Seth Low and Pearl G. Spindler, Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States, Children's Bureau Publication Number 461-1968. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 71. The data came from a special census of mothers who worked at least 27 weeks during 1964.

[2] Child Welfare Statistics, 1968. National Center for Social Statistics, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Table 1

Children of Full-time Working Mothers in Child Care Settings by Ages of Children (when not in school)*

	Under 3	3 - 5	6 - 11	12 - 13
Home Care by Nonrelatives	17.8	19.0	10.0	3.4
Family Day Care	19.8	19.5	7.7	1.5
Center Care	4.8	9.7	0.8	0.4
Day Care Sub-total	42.4	48.2	18.5	5.3
Care by Own Family**	57.4**	51.5**	71.9**	70.5**
Looks After Self	0.2	0.3	9.6	24.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	1,024,000	1,537,000	4,105,000	1,648,000

* Table contains national census data adapted from Low and Spindler, op.cit.

** Includes one percent or less "other" arrangements.

prevalence of private arrangements is presumed to represent the "need" for organized day care, and it is assumed that these day care consumers would use such facilities if they were available. There are good reasons, however, why this is not reasonable to expect.[3] Some of these reasons are very practical ones having to do with convenience and expense, while others have to do with more subtle sources of preference for different kinds of social arrangements. The various kinds of day care and informal child care arrangements that exist have different advantages and disadvantages for family life. Since families differ, no one type of arrangement can be satisfactory for all families.

If there continue to be parents who as consumers cannot or do not wish to use organized facilities, then there will continue to be a need for home and neighborhood intervention programs designed to bring the additional services and resources which private day care lacks.

Problems Found in Private Neighborhood Day Care

In addition to the fact that private family day care is so widely used, there are other reasons why programs need to be developed for this target population. As a special child-rearing environment involving young children and families, it needs strengthening in the interests of their welfare and optimum development. In saying this, however, it is important to keep perspective on the nature of the problem and the degree of its seriousness. It is not helpful to try to "sell" social services on the basis of frightening statistics and misleading estimates of need. One frequently hears the entire population of private family day care arrangements stereotyped as "mere babysitting", as "makeshift arrangements," or even as a form of "neglect," even though the evidence does not support such

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[3] Arthur C. Emlen, "Realistic Planning for the Day Care Consumer," Social Work Practice, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

charges as a generalization about the entire population.[4] Despite some serious instances of neglect and substandard care, which certainly can be cited, family day care is reported by its users to be a relatively satisfactory solution for the majority of children involved despite the strains inherent in it.[5]

Nevertheless, there are problems in family day care which should be addressed by any intervention program such as a Day Care Neighbor Service. What are some of these problems?

1. Babysitting crises; pressures on the working mother in making new arrangements.

Perhaps the most persistently articulated problem in family day care is what the working mother refers to as "finding a new babysitter." Having to make a decision about whether or not to go to work or to continue working, having to decide what kind of a child care arrangement to make, having to find a new caregiver and to work out understandings with her are hardly easy tasks at best, and they may come at a time of stressful changes in family life, such as separation or divorce, illness or unemployment, first entry into the labor market or a new job situation.

The moment of seeking a child care arrangement is the point of entry of the Day Care Neighbor Service, which is designed not only to provide an informal information and referral service, but to offer simple acts of help and understanding that make it easier for a family to make a successful decision and perhaps reduce the stress and tension for the young child as he goes to

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4 Emlen, ibid.

5 Ibid.

his new situation. The essential character of the need is for on-the-spot information and for informal support in the immediate situation.

Social agencies offer professional help to persons in the throes of a child care crisis, but many persons do not define their need as requiring such a service. They think first of more informal ways of making their decisions. They turn directly to a friend, they answer classified ads in the newspaper, or they ask someone who might know of someone. The Day Care Neighbor Service is first of all, and most obviously, a decentralized way of facilitating the many decisions that are involved in making day care arrangements.

2. Low Status of the Caregiver Role

Child care roles are neither well paid nor highly valued, no matter whether in the home, in the neighborhood, or in the social agency. Many women depreciate their child care and homemaking roles. Others prefer to work yet are apologetic about their use of supplemental child care. Many neighborhood sitters give day care almost without admitting it to themselves or others. The lack of status accorded the caregiving role, along with ill-defined expectations, a lack of social support or gratifying reinforcement contribute to the emotional drain of caregiving and a lower quality of caregiving than children have a right to expect.

There are home-centered women, however, whose interests and talents recommend them for the caregiver role. The assumption of the Day Care Neighbor Service is that they can be recruited for neighborhood day care and that their capacities to perform the

caregiving role can be developed and supported. Selection of caregivers for private family day care is a process of self-selection by some caregivers, while for others it is a response to the request of the working mother. The Day Care Neighbor Service attempts to add another element to this selection process -- the recruitment efforts and encouragement of selected neighbors who have given some thought to the quality of child care.

There are new frontiers of educational enrichment possible for family life generally in the United States, and the same needs and opportunities for educational enrichment apply to that portion of life that takes place in day care homes. The Day Care Neighbor Service is designed to provide a channel of communication through which ideas and materials of child development consequence may be disseminated. In neighborhood day care this dissemination also reaches the caregivers' own children to whom she applies what she learns from her day care experience.

3. <u>The Problem of Instability of the Family Day Care Arrangement</u>.

It is reasonable to be concerned about the effects on children of extreme discontinuity of care in family day care which sometimes occurs as the result of the difficulty that some caregivers and users have in making stable arrangements. The Field Study, of which the Day Care Neighbor Service is a part, has focused attention on the problem of instability in family day care arrangements as a central issue. The Field Study has included several independent samples of family day care arrangements, and although one sample of 146 current continuing arrangements had a median duration of more than one year, repeated samples of terminated or new arrangements

have had median durations ranging from one to three months. These durations are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 here

Of course short arrangements may be short by intent. One of the virtues of informal family day care is that it has the flexibility to accommodate the needs of families for care for irregular periods of time. However, even though short arrangements do not necessarily mean poor care, many do not last as long as care users and givers would like. Project findings point to difficulties both in making new arrangements and in maintaining existing arrangements. The sources of stability and instability in family day care arrangements are many and complex. While these will be the subject of a series of Field Study reports, it is relevant to recognize here that the stability of a family day care arrangement depends on more than the stability of the setting, that is, of the caregiver and her family situation and residence. It also depends on the use of the setting by the family or care user. This in turn is not simply a matter of external conditions such as tenure of job and residence, but of subtle balance in the social interactions with the caregiver. One of the assumptions of the Day Care Neighbor Service is that the third-party support of the day care neighbor is helpful in stabilizing existing arrangements and in facilitating the making of new arrangements that may be more stable than previous ones.

Table 2

Median Duration of Independent Samples of Private Family Day Care Arrangements

Sample Characteristics	Median Duration
301 terminated arrangements Known about through the Day Care Neighbor Service 3/1/67 to 2/28/69. Sample biased by exclusion of continuing arrangements or those with unknown durations. Also sample includes irregular arrangements made for reasons other than full- or part-time work, and the sampling frame caught arrangements of durations less than a week.	1 month
35 terminated arrangements Sample was of working mothers most of whom received supplementary AFDC assistance and showed a child care item in their budgets. Interviewed in Spring, 1966.	2 months
180 new arrangements (panel study) Sample of beginning arrangements of working mothers located through employment, classified ads of caregivers, and neighborhood contacts of the Day Care Neighbor Service, 1968-70. Sampling tended to miss arrangements that terminated within the first week. In this panel study both mothers and caregivers were interviewed in three waves of data collection during the arrangement.	3 months
22 continuing arrangements Current arrangements from a neighborhood survey, resurveyed one year later, 1965.	6 months
146 continuing arrangements - at time of interview at time of followup Sample of working mothers located through places of employment, 1967-68, and having a current arrangement at time of contact for interview.	6 months 1 year

4. Problems of Abuse, Neglect, and Inadequate Supervision.

Neglect by babysitters as well as by parents does occur. Family day care is used by and provided by some persons who have unusual difficulty in managing their lives, or who have little to give to the task of child-rearing. They are a relatively small but none the less critical group of persons who might be referred to a protective service agency when the visibility of their child care problems precipitates a complaint or referral to a social agency. In a sample of 101 protective service complaints made to the public agencies in Portland in one summer month, 46 percent were precipitated by a breakdown in, or lack of, a supplemental child care arrangement.[6]

Yet complaints to agencies reflect but a small proportion of the problems that arise. Many factors intervene to postpone referral, and even when it is made, the family may not receive the services it needs. For the most part neglect that appears within the informal neighborhood context of family day care does not make its way to the agency services; the families go unreached, and the child-rearing environments of the children keep their chaotic character.

The Day Care Neighbor Service was not intended as a protective services program, and although the service was found to have a potential for dealing with the extremes of neglect and abuse that appear in the neighborhood, the protective function was not an objective of this demonstration but more an intriguing by-product. It was found that day care neighbors tend to respond

[6] William Carey, et al., The Complaint Process In Protective Services for Children, MSW Thesis, Portland State University, 1969.

protectively when the child care they have been involved with in some way is so poor that they cannot tolerate it. Their tendency is to involve themselves protectively with advice, direct assistance, and informal rescuing, without making a referral to a social agency. Though rarely, even the latter course of action has also been taken by them. The potential protective-service use of the Day Care Neighbor Service is a specialized aspect of the service which was investigated in a separate demonstration and will receive attention in a later report. The present report concentrates on those functions of the Day Care Neighbor Service that applied more generally to all users and givers of family day care -- the information and referral, the recruitment, the matchmaking, and the maintenance functions of the service.

CHAPTER THREE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DATA FROM THE SERVICE

This chapter describes the conditions under which the demonstration was carried out and the data collected. Terminology is clarified and the nature of the data used in the two chapters of findings is discussed.

The Purposes for Which the Data Were Collected

The data were collected by the day care neighbors and by the consultants as an integral part of an ongoing service. No independent sources of systematic research data about the Day Care Neighbor Service were used. The data are the operating data of the service itself. They represent the reported characteristics of the users of the service as observed by the day care neighbors and as reported to the consultants in monthly home interviews and in more frequent telephone conversations. Thus, strictly speaking, the data represent a benign and factual kind of neighborhood gossip about the requestors and their requests.[1]

Decisions about what data to collect were determined by service considerations and not by research needs. Care was taken to minimize what was expected of the day care neighbors in record-keeping and unfamiliar tasks such as being expected to provide the answers to questions that they in turn could not ask readily of a stranger. Threatening lines of investigation about the users of the service and about the day care neighbors themselves were avoided. A further constraint was the variation among day care neighbors in their talents and taste for data collection, as well

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[1] The word 'gossip' came from 'God sib' and referred to a spiritual relationship, sponsorship in baptism, or the conversation of boon companions. In this benign and legitimate sense, the verb 'gossip' is an apt description of what the day care neighbor does.

as for day care neighboring. These individual differences were accepted although some growth or learning did occur over time.

The consultation interview in the home of the day care neighbor, which was the primary point of data collection, was a low-key, informal, conversational, and highly unstructured interview. For the most part these were taped and the followup information was recorded later in the office on McBee cards. Additional information was obtained through frequent telephone conversations with the day care neighbors. Thus the data of this report consist primarily of simple, straightforward, factual items of information about who used the service, what they requested, and what the outcomes of their requests were.

The necessity for developing a central system of record keeping was underscored by the voluminous flow of data contained in the interviews held between consultant and day care neighbor. The question of which data to gather and how to record the information was perplexing. Not only the contacts and activities of the day care neighbors had to be followed on a monthly basis, but also the requests and subsequent arrangements of each requestor. A master card was devised to serve as an abbreviated case record for each family known to the service and this was kept up-to-date by the project office and contained all the information known about that family. However, the problem of identifying who gives day care to whom, and for how long, required identifying each day care neighbor and recording her identification number as part of the record of each request for help in making a day care arrangement that was made to the Day Care Neighbor Service.

A complete record of the way in which information was coded for punching on the McBee card is shown in Appendix A along with the frequencies for

the categories of each variable and a discussion of the special problems of coding and interpretation. The purpose of the McBee card was to make more accessible information about the volume of activity that occurred in the private family day care system for each day care neighbor.

Terminology

In order to introduce the terminology used in this report and to provide an overview of the raw data that were collected, the following categories are presented.

Requests. The request is the basic unit of analysis of the day care neighbors' contacts with those who sought day care for their children or who sought to provide day care for others. The requests of potential care users or caregivers are referred to as "user requests" and "giver requests." "User requests" are just what the term suggests, some kind of an inquiry made either to a day care neighbor or to the project's central office in which a day care resource of some kind was sought for any reason. The term "giver request" encompasses two different operations:

(1) A request to give care was made to or referred to a day care neighbor. This initial request was recorded by the day care neighbor and then received and retained the status of an open request (a giver resource available when users requested the names of givers) until some change in the giver's availability occurred. Once a giver request was made, there might be any number of arrangements with different users, but only one giver request was recorded.

(2) When a day care neighbor asked a prospective giver to give care to a particular child, this was also considered a

giver request. However, the many general recruitment efforts by day care neighbors to encourage women to assume the caregiver role were not recorded.

The difference between user and giver requests was reflected in the volume of requests that were made in the two years of the demonstration. Of 861 requests, 68% were user requests and 32% were giver requests -- a two to one ratio. An attempt to interpret these results as well as the outcomes is made in Chapter Four. For the moment the reader should be advised that giver requests do not provide a measure of day care supply but only of day care neighbor contacts with givers.

Referrals. While each "request" represents one person's need to make an arrangement, the term "referral" denotes the number of day care neighbor names made available to a user at the time of her request. This could happen in two ways:

(1) When the initial contact for a "request" was a call from requestor to a day care neighbor, this was counted as a referral to that day care neighbor.

(2) When a requestor called the central office, she was given the names of one or more day care neighbors in her area. Each of the day care neighbor names offered to the user was counted as one referral, whether or not the requestor went on to contact any day care neighbors.

Early in the service request information was given immediately, by phone, to one or more day care neighbors in the hope that the day care neighbors would take the initiative to review resources and call the requestor with appropriate names. What actually happened was that the day care neighbors tended not to contact strangers with an offer of help but waited for the requestors to call them; so the practice of telling them

about requests was discontinued. Thus, though it may seem a peculiar use of the term, a referral that was counted as belonging to a particular day care neighbor might or might not involve an actual contact with that requestor.

With this procedure, a request could appear as referrals to one, two, or three day care neighbors. Thus 861 requests involved 1253 referrals. The 589 user requests involved 886 referrals, or 1.5 per request. Mostly the multiple referrals were made for user requests in the northwest area. See Table 3. This practice was partially discontinued in the replication in southeast Portland.

Table 3 here

Sample Sizes Used in Reporting the Results

An overall summary of the sample sizes used in this report is presented in Figure 3. The data cover a period of 24 months and represent the results of a service involving 13 day care neighbors whose performance of the role individually averaged 17 months. It may be seen that the service during this period reached a total of 622 persons, of whom two-thirds were requesting day care, and one-third were caregivers. The caregiver and care user requests reported in the study are not necessarily independent, and if a day care arrangement resulted, it may or may not have involved matching with someone else not among the 622 requestors. Of the 622 persons known to the service approximately one-third made repeat requests; thus the service received 861 requests which, vis-a-vis the day care neighbors, represented 1253 referrals.

Figure 3 here

Table 3

Number of Referrals per Request

	Northwest	Southeast	Total
User Requests	1.8	1.2	1.5
Giver Requests	1.6	1.2	1.4

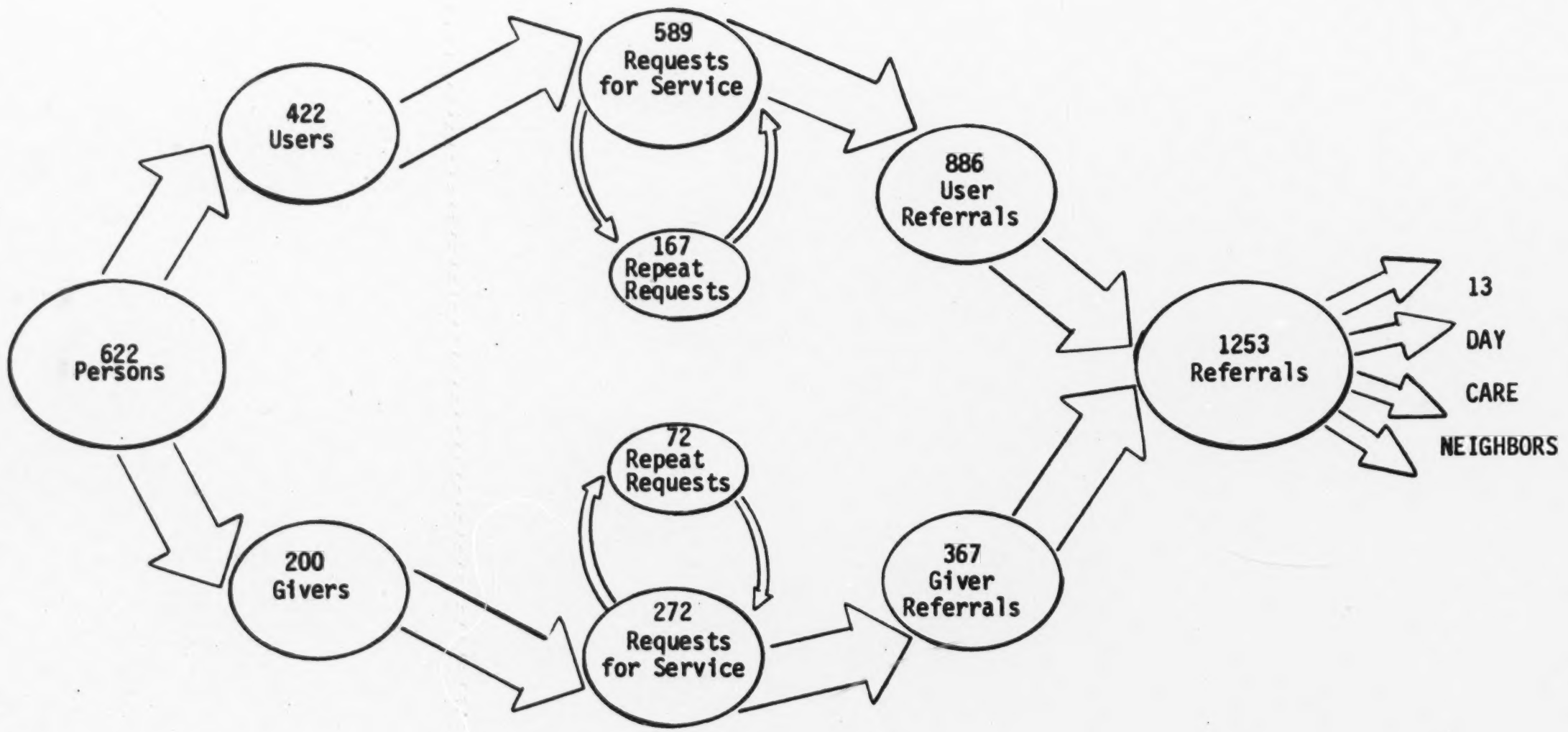

Figure 3. Summary of Sample Sizes Used in the Study

The referral is used as the unit of analysis in Chapter Four because that is the most complete way of contrasting activity of each day care neighbor. In Chapter Five, however, when attention turns to the characteristics of the users and the givers, the request becomes the unit of analysis. In both of the findings chapters initial and repeat requests (and referrals) were pooled, since no difference was found between the two groups for the analyses shown and since it was desirable to keep discussion focused on the service as unit of analysis. It should be remembered, however, that the number of persons who used the service represented approximately three quarters of the requests involved.

These gross figures on the volume of service are not meaningful except in relation to the time span of their collection. Overall they represent 24 months of data collection by 13 day care neighbors whose average tenure of office was approximately 17 months. The data represent a total of 220 day-care-neighbor months. Therefore, the mean number of requests received per day care neighbor per month is 3.9. Thus, the amount of service associated with each day care neighbor each month is small, and becomes impressive only when multiplied by the number of day care neighbors in the service.

Continuity in the Day Care Neighbor Role

Chapter Five will report the results on the specific functions which the day care neighbors were expected to perform, but before considering that, a prior question to consider is how long the day care neighbors continued to hold the position. Day care neighbors were selected because they were discovered to be doing day care neighboring as a natural part of their lives, and they also proved willing to associate themselves with a service designed to increase and improve their neighboring activities. The project's success

in recruiting and keeping day care neighbors is shown in Figure 4, which gives the role durations for each day care neighbor for the history of the project. It may be seen that the first day care neighbors were recruited in 1966 during the last year of the Day Care Exchange Project and prior to the time when the record-keeping system was developed for the data included in this report. It may also be seen that most of the day care neighbors who were recruited for the original demonstration in the northwest portion of Portland continued until the project was terminated at the end of February 1969.[2] When the service was replicated in southeast Portland beginning in the late summer of 1967, most of these day care neighbors also continued until the termination of the project. It should be said that the termination of the demonstration was planned in advance for February 1969. After termination the day care neighbors continued independently and without payment of the $25 per month. There was some attrition and loss of interest, however, as they ceased to receive the support of consultants during the year that followed.

Figure 4 here

The duration of the role among the southeast day care neighbors would have been a consistent 18 months but for some unusual circumstances. Day care neighbor #7 had originally served briefly in northwest (in #8's neighborhood) and it was coincidental that she moved to one of the neighborhoods selected for replicating the service in southeast, at which point she re-

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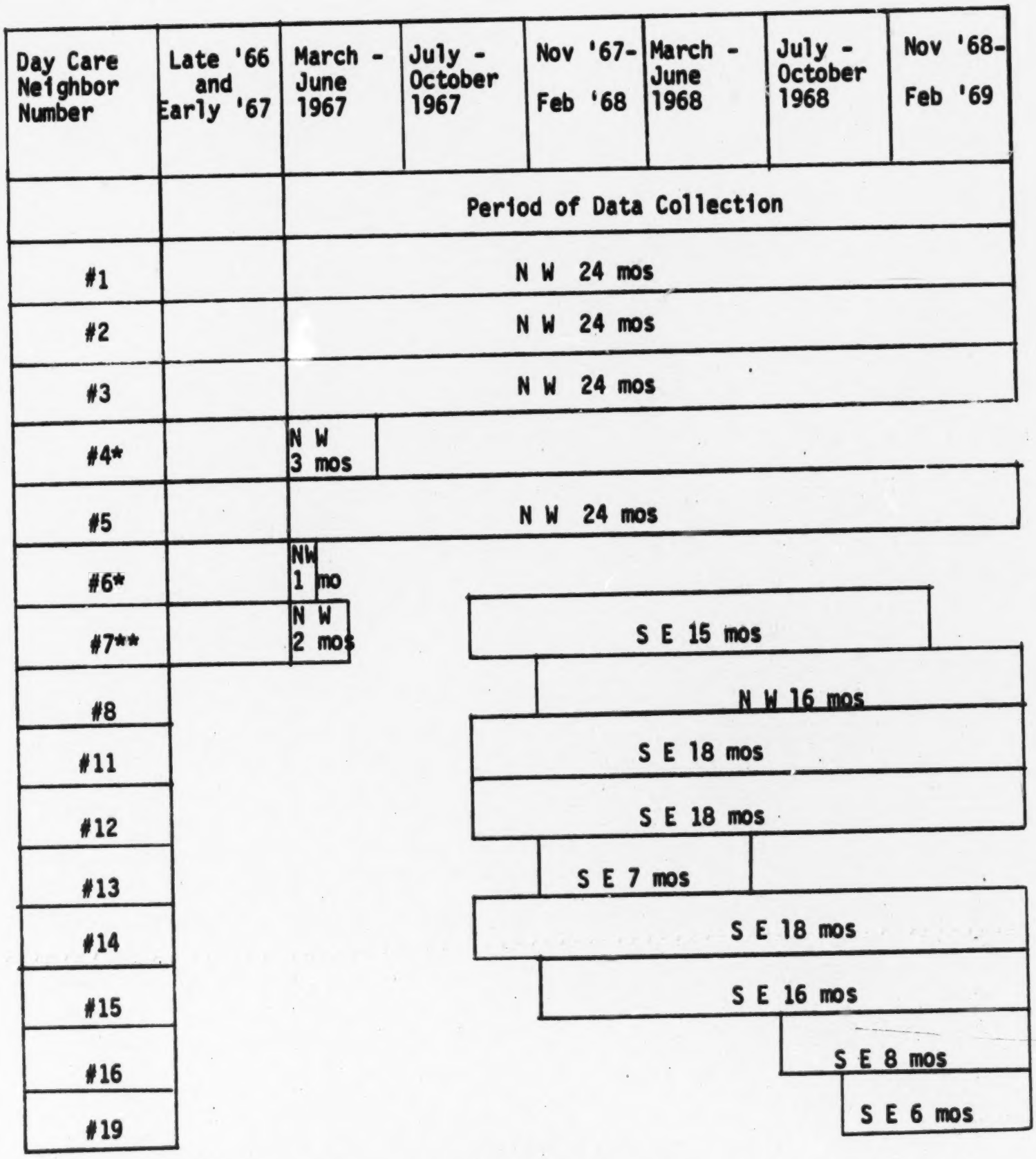
[2] Two of the 15 day care neighbors shown in Figure 4 (#4 and #6) did not continue past the time when the record-keeping system was set up; one moved and the other was terminated. Request data for them were not included in the figures reported above nor in subsequent analyses. In Figure 4 it may be noticed that four numbers (#9, #10, #17, and #18) are missing. They do not represent unreported data; they simply were not assigned. The identification numbers that were assigned originally in the study were kept for the sake of convenience.



* Request data on these two were not included in the study. See footnote on page 26.

** Two months of northwest activity of day care neighbor #7 were included with her southeast activity.

Figure 4. Role Durations for 15 Day Care Neighbors

sumed her day care neighbor role. Day care neighbors #13 and #19 were recruited sequentially from the same neighborhood and had a combined role duration of 13 months. Day care neighbor #16 was not part of the original southeast service but rather was selected when interest developed in a school that wanted to try out the Day Care Neighbor Service idea under their auspices.

The Replication

The results found for the original demonstration in northwest Portland and the replication in southeast Portland were roughly comparable. This was true of the number of requests as well as of the outcomes of the requests, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 here

The similarity of the service results for the two areas was encouraging, but technically the northwest-southeast breakdown was not useful for statistical analyses to show replication by geographic area because there was no basis in probability sampling for asserting anything about the requests for the two areas. The sampling was biased by the special way in which the day care neighbors were selected, although a range of socioeconomic levels was included within each area, giving them some balance. For these reasons, the data for the two areas were pooled for most analyses.

Since the data from both areas are pooled for most of the analyses, some narrative description will be of advantage in pointing out how similar or different the service in the two areas was. As an aid in this, a map of the two areas is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5 (map) here

Table 4

Replication of Service in
Two Geographic Areas

Item	Northwest	Southeast	Combined
Number of day care neighbors	5	8	13
Number of requests	427	434	861
Number of day-care-neighbor months	112	108	220
Number of requests per day-care-neighbor month	3.8	4.0	3.9
Number of matches by a day care neighbor	193	201	394
Mean number of matches by a day care neighbor per month	1.7	1.9	1.8

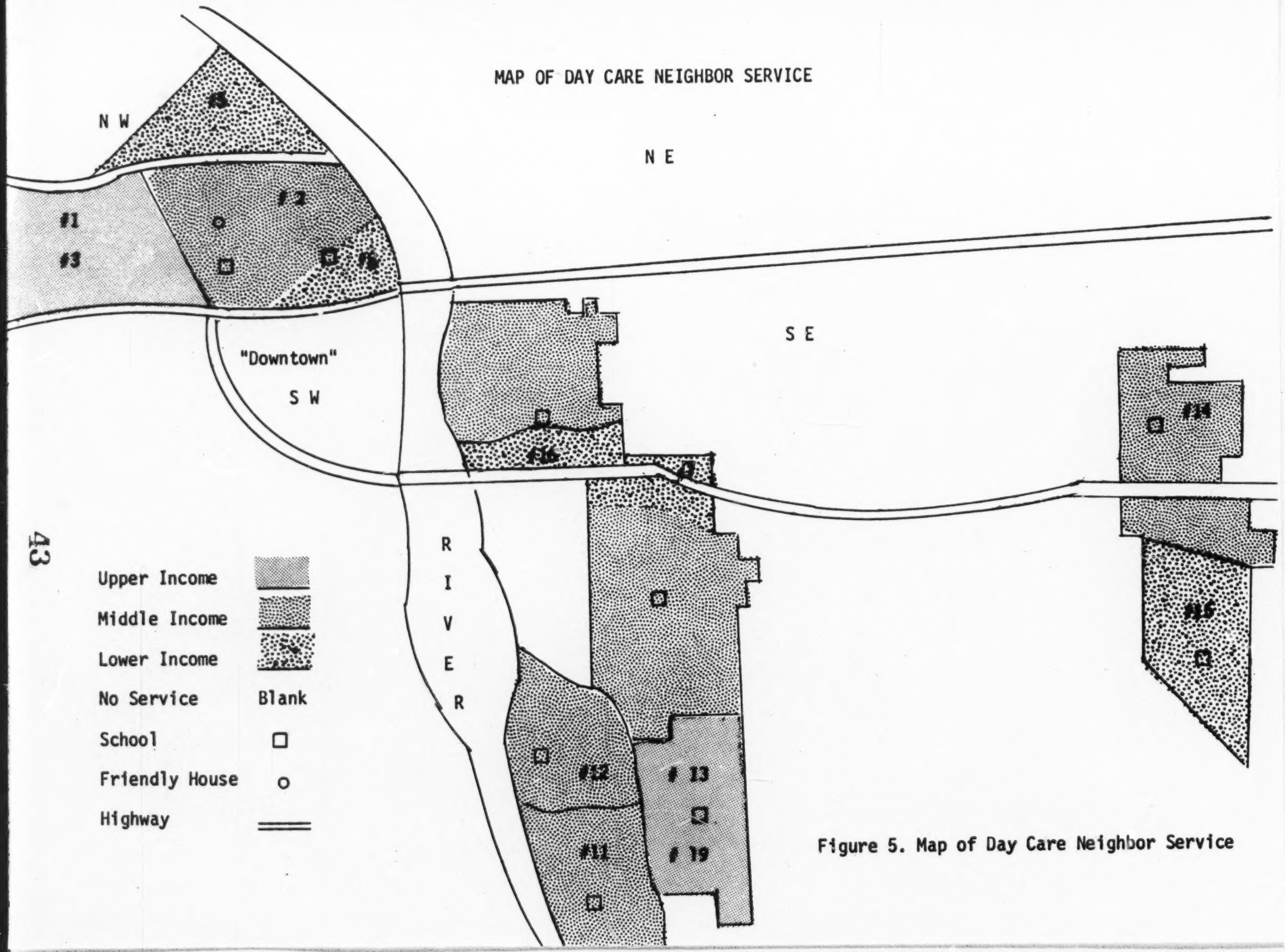


Figure 5. Map of Day Care Neighbor Service

When the service first began it was associated with Friendly House, a neighborhood settlement type of agency well known to northwest residents, where many inquiries were made about various services available to the community. When the inquiries were about family day care resources, Friendly House referred them to the project office. User requests frequently were referred to several day care neighbors. Giver inquiries, on the other hand, were referred to the one day care neighbor who lived nearest to them. This practice led to the difference in multiple referrals between users and givers.

Many of the multiple referrals in southeast were the result of an ad which two of the day care neighbors ran in a widely circulated neighborhood newspaper. They referred requestors to each other when it was geographically appropriate. Referrals through the project office were fewer in southeast than northwest, and when these did occur staff usually gave the name of only one day care neighbor -- the one who lived nearest to the requestor.

This difference in practice between southeast and northwest was also due to the difference in geographic composition of the two areas. Northwest Portland, relatively smaller than the other areas of the city, contained a wide cross section of population both in business establishments and residential neighborhoods. When the service began, no specific geographic boundaries were identified with the day care neighbors and service was open to anyone who lived or worked in northwest. When the service was replicated in southeast, project staff made sharper distinctions in the boundaries of the areas for each day care neighbor, since the entire southeast was much too large to cover with six day care neighbors. School boundaries seemed to be the easiest way to distinguish where requestors might expect to find help

from the service. The school areas were selected in southeast to offer a cross section of socioeconomic neighborhoods and a reasonable balance between day care needs and resources. These characteristics were determined from census data as well as from other information available to the project.

There were only two public schools in northwest Portland so the chance of overlap between day care neighbors was greater there. The six school districts originally selected in southeast (day care neighbors #7, #11, #12, #13, #19, #14 and #15) were not all adjacent to each other as was true in northwest, so the chance of overlap was less likely. Four of the day care neighbors lived in adjacent school districts but were divided by a major highway. Two of these, (#11 and #12) were the day care neighbors who ran an ad in their local paper and were the only ones to maintain telephone contact, referring requestors back and forth. The remaining two (#14 and #15) lived in adjacent school districts several miles away from the four day care neighbors just described, and they lived at opposite ends of their combined area. The seventh day care neighbor in southeast (#16), under school auspices, was near the four who were adjacent to each other. In both areas, but especially in southeast, there was very little direct contact among day care neighbors on behalf of requestors.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DAY CARE NEIGHBORS AND THEIR SERVICE

This chapter describes and compares each day care neighbor and the volume of day care activity associated with the performance of her neighboring role. Both qualitative and quantitative data are presented in an assessment of the extent to which each neighbor performed each of the four functions of the Day Care Neighbor Service referred to in Chapter One. This chapter attempts to answer the question, "Which functions were performed universally by all day care neighbors and which functions were performed only by some?" Attention will be paid first to those quantitative measures that provide evidence of the properties of day care neighbor role performance, and then a more qualitative description of each day care neighbor will be presented, emphasizing the unique characteristics of each.

Function #1: Information and Referral

All of the day care neighbors did handle user requests and they did handle giver requests, and for all of the day care neighbors there was evidence that they did provide information for day care matchmaking to the potential users and givers of care. There was, however, wide variation in the amount of activity associated with each day care neighbor and her own system of contacts. The number of referrals of user requests reported for each day care neighbor is shown in Table 5, as well as the average number per month. The mean number of referrals of user requests per month ranged from 0.6 to 7.6 for the 13 day care neighbors. For the total group, the median number of referrals was 3.9 monthly. The mean was 4.0.

Table 5 here

Table 5

Volume of User Referrals
to Each Day Care Neighbor

	Day Care Neighbor #	Months of Role Duration	Number of Referrals of User Requests	Mean Number of User Referrals (monthly)
NORTHWEST	1	24	182	7.6
	2	24	112	4.7
	3	24	137	5.7
	5	24	71	3.0
	6	16	64	4.0
SOUTHEAST	7	17	80	4.7
	11	18	78	4.3
	12	18	71	3.9---median
	13	7	15	2.1
	14	18	28	1.6
	15	16	10	.6
	16	8	29	3.6
	19	6	9	1.5
NW		112	566	5.1*
SE		108	320	3.0
Total		220	886	4.0

* Inflated by multiple referrals; see Chapter Three.

Function #2: Recruitment

Similarly, it may be seen in Table 6 that all day care neighbors handled giver requests as well. The mean number of referrals of giver requests handled per month ranged from 0.4 to 3.6 with median mean of 1.6. It should be recognized that these referral figures are not an entirely satisfactory measure of recruitment effort. They represent the number of requests reported from contacts with caregivers -- that is, a gross unit of helping effort regardless of the amount and quality of activity that went into each referral and regardless of the outcome.

Table 6 here

Function #3: Matchmaking

As a prerequisite to matchmaking the day care neighbor must have been engaged generally in handling referrals of requests from both care users and caregivers. There is evidence that each day care neighbor did both. Comparing the day care neighbor volume of referrals of each kind in Tables 5 and 6, it may be seen that, although some day care neighbors tended to report more user referrals and others giver referrals, for the most part the volumes of the two kinds of referrals tended to covary. The mean number of user and giver referrals handled per month were moderately correlated, Rho = +.66, for the 13 day care neighbors.

It is difficult to devise a valid measure of the results of matchmaking efforts of day care neighbors, not simply because of limitations in the data but also because the neighbors were not expected to perform matchmaking in a directive way. Rather, they were expected to facilitate

Table 6

Volume of Giver Referrals
to Each Day Care Neighbor

	Day Care Neighbor #	Months of Role Duration	Number of Referrals of Giver Requests	Mean Number of Giver Referrals (monthly)
NORTHWEST	1	24	47	2.0
	2	24	39	1.6---median
	3	24	40	1.7
	5	24	18	.7
	8	16	20	1.3
SOUTHEAST	7	17	61	3.6
	11	18	41	2.3
	12	18	49	2.7
	13	7	3	.4
	14	18	13	.7
	15	16	8	.5
	16	8	24	3.0
	19	6	4	.7
NW		112	164	1.5
SE		108	203	1.9
Total		220	367	1.7

the process of self-selection by providing information and support. Nevertheless, it was possible to distinguish whether or not a request resulted in the making of a day care arrangement and whether or not the arrangement was made on the basis of the day care neighbor's suggestion. If the outcome of a request was an arrangement that involved the assistance of the day care neighbor in any way, even though in many instances the help provided may have consisted only of information, this was regarded as providing some evidence of performance of a matchmaking function. If then we examine the average number of matched requests per month in Table 7, evidence of matchmaking may be seen for all neighbors despite the wide variation in results. Again, as discussed in the introduction, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that these "performance" figures probably represent the combined effects of the behavior of the day care neighbors and the utilization of the neighbors by referral sources and by the users and givers of care.

Table 7 here

Although the volume of matchmaking is one way of assessing the matchmaking efforts of the day care neighbors, volume figures are affected by the volume of referrals handled. Therefore, an additional measure would be the ratio of arrangements matched by each day care neighbor to the total number of referrals she handled. If a high percentage of the arrangements was made through the neighbor, then the ratio will be high. A low percentage is found when referrals result in an arrangement matched in some other way or result in no arrangement at all.[1] For each day care neighbor Table 8 shows the percentage of referrals of user requests that

[1] These data are by each individual day care neighbor; so that an arrangement matched through "other" could be through another day care neighbor as well as through someone totally outside the service.

Table 7

Volume of Requests* Matched by Each Day Care Neighbor

	Day Care Neighbor #	Months of Role Duration	Number of Requests Matched by this DCN	Mean Number of Requests Matched by this DCN (monthly)
NORTHWEST	1	24	70	2.9
	2	24	47	2.0
	3	24	24	1.0
	5	24	29	1.2
	8	16	23	1.4
SOUTHEAST	7	17	65	3.8
	11	18	57	3.2
	12	18	24	1.3---median
	13	7	7	1.0
	14	18	14	.8
	15	16	11	.7
	16	8	17	2.1
	19	6	6	1.0
NW		112	193	1.7
SE		108	201	1.9
Total		220	394	1.8

* Requests include user and giver requests combined.

resulted in a match by her and the percentage that resulted in a match some other way. In the median case, approximately 39 percent of user referrals resulted in arrangements matched by the neighbor.

Table 8 here

The total percentage of completed arrangements known to have been associated with each day care neighbor's referral system was 78, as is also shown in Table 8. The remaining 22 percent did not result in a completed arrangement (a "match") or the outcome was unknown. It will be noted that these percentages show very little variation. This stable high percentage of completed arrangements is of some importance and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Function #4: Maintenance of Arrangement Relationships

No operating statistics were kept on the maintenance function of the Day Care Neighbor Service even though this aspect of the service was explicitly expected of the day care neighbors and was of concern to them as a part of their role. The performance of this function was not carried out in any prescribed manner, but consisted of friendly interest and advice, supportive listening, praise and recognition, sometimes in situations which might otherwise have precipitated termination of an arrangement.

For example:

> The day care neighbor responds sympathetically when a caregiver complains about a young career woman who doesn't pick up her child on time, doesn't pay promptly, and doesn't give her child adequate care at home. The caregiver threatens not to keep the child any longer. Indeed, this kind of behavior and reactions to it led to the breaking up of previous day care arrangements for this child. The day care neighbor helped the caregiver to understand and tolerate the mother's behavior just enough, and to appreciate what she as the caregiver was doing for the child, so that the child stayed on.

Table 8

Percentage of User Referrals Matched by Day Care Neighbor or by Other Means

	Day Care Neighbor #	Percentage of User Referrals Matched Through This DCN	Percentage of User Referrals Matched Through Other Than This DCN	Total Percentage of Referrals Resulting in a Completed Arrangement or "Match"*
NORTHWEST	1	29	51	80%
	2	37	44	81%
	3	12	65	77%
	5	39---median	38	77%
	8	23	53	76%
SOUTHEAST	7	50	29	79%
	11	55	26	81%
	12	17	59	76%
	13	47	47	94%
	14	36	32	68%
	15	60	30	90%
	16	41	31	72%
	19	44	33	77%

*The base of total user referrals was used for percentaging. The remaining percentage consists of "no arrangement made" and "outcome unknown." The table shows matching by this day care neighbor to make possible the comparison of day care neighbors. Total percentages of referrals would be meaningless, because of the multiple referrals of requests. However, the percentage of requests matched through a day care neighbor--any day care neighbor--was 49%, and 29% were matched by other than a day care neighbor. The grand total percentage of requests that resulted in a "match" or completed arrangement was 78%.

Though there was some evidence of the performance of the maintenance function by each day care neighbor, no attempt was made to measure the maintenance efforts of the neighbors, let alone the effectiveness of their efforts.

A special by-product of the Day Care Neighbor Service was its capability of dealing with those instances of child abuse, neglect, and inadequate supervision that came to the attention of the day care neighbors, though relatively rare in proportion to the total volume of neighborhood day care. A "protective function" was discovered which, while not a primary, manifest function of the service nor one that was called into play often, showed that these neighbors did respond protectively to situations involving a threat to the wellbeing of a child. Perhaps this was only a more critical exercise of the maintenance function, yet they were apt to render a form of protective service without referral, or even more rarely to participate in making a protective service referral to a social agency.

The maintenance-protection dimension of the Day Care Neighbor Service is currently the subject of further study of an exploratory and descriptive nature.

Differences Among the Day Care Neighbors

Having shown that most of the functions of the Day Care Neighbor Service were performed at least to some degree by all the neighbors, we may turn now to the variations in that performance. First, a description of each day care neighbor is presented and then an analysis and possible explanation of the variations are discussed.

In many ways the individual characteristics of the day care neighbors' neighborhoods, families, personalities, and socioeconomic circumstances contributed to an understanding of the variations in neighboring activities.

For each day care neighbor a narrative description is preceded by a box briefly characterizing the day care neighbor with respect to -

1. Socioeconomic status (SES) based on education, income, and residence at time of recruitment.
2. Family composition--that is, marital status, number and ages of children at time of recruitment.
3. Extent of caregiving--that is, willingness to be a caregiver in addition to playing the day care neighbor role.
4. Average monthly volume of user referrals (with her rank among the 13 day care neighbors).
5. The proportion of user referrals matched by this day care neighbor (with her rank among the 13 day care neighbors).

The meaning of item 3 will become clear in the text as the day care neighbors are described. Items 4 and 5 provide a simple profile of service for each neighbor, which for clarity is restricted to her volume of user referrals and, in relation to them, the ratio of completed arrangements that were matched through her. Since the volume of arrangements completed by her is in large part a function of the volume of referrals (by rank order correlation of the 13 day care neighbors, Rho = +.91; N = 13), the ratio of matches to referrals was chosen as a measure of her success rate in matchmaking. The matchmaking ratios tend to be inversely related to referral volume but to a low degree (Rho = -.43; N = 13). Thus, in the following descriptions of each day care neighbor, the reader may inspect the ranks on items 4 and 5 to compare the neighbor's matchmaking success rate with her referral volume. Day care neighbor #1, for example, ranked 1st in referral volume, but 10th in matchmaking ratio.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #1
northwest, 24 months

SES: education, income, and residence	College graduate; $8-12,000, middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 5 children ages 3 - 11
Extent of care giving	Cared for one child part time-only took a few others on temporary basis
Average monthly volume of user referrals	7.6 (1st in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	53/182 = .29 (10th in rank)

Day care neighbor #1 ranked first in volume of referrals yet ranked low in the ratio of her matching to referral volume. Day care neighbor #1 was very like #3 in socioeconomic status and also in her wish not to give further child care herself. They both believed that children needed their own mothers if possible, but #1 (unlike #3) had no need or wish to advise requestors regarding their decision to use or to give care. In fact, she tried to avoid interfering or appearing nosy and found it difficult to follow up a request to ascertain if it had developed into an arrangement unless she had something more to offer. She was easily accessible to requestors because she had children in the primary grades and was usually at home to answer the phone. Her curiosity and eagerness to help people find what they were looking for without projecting her own value judgments on requestors were probably distinct assets in her matching activity.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #2
northwest, 24 months

SES: education, income and residence	Some high school; $5-8,000; lower-middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 3 children ages 11 - 16
Extent of care giving	Very willing
Average monthly volume of user referrals	4.7 (4th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	41/112 = .37 (8th in rank)

Day care neighbor #2 ranked moderately high in the volume of referrals though somewhat lower in the proportion she matched. Her own children were of high school and upper elementary school age and she cared for one day care child, age 5. Before becoming a day care neighbor she functioned as an exchange agent between acquaintances and friends in her neighborhood who wanted to use and to give day care, but usually this took place only if she did not wish to take the children needing care into her own home. As she progressed in her day care neighbor role she expanded her recruitment and matching function with people she didn't know as well and tended to view her day care neighbor role with as much satisfaction as her giver role.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #3
northwest, 24 months

SES: education, income, and residence	College graduate; over $14,000; upper middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 3 children ages 9 - 20
Extent of care giving	Cared for one child part time - not interested in taking others
Average monthly volume of user referrals	5.7 (2nd in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	17/137 = .12 (13th in rank)

Day care neighbor #3 ranked low in the proportion of referrals which resulted in arrangements that she matched,though high in volume of referrals. She frequently was away from home due to social and civic involvement and to care for an elderly relative some distance away, which made her less accessible to requestors. Also she found it difficult to match working mothers, especially those with more than one child, with her upper-middle class friends and neighbors, most of whom shared her disapproval of mothers going to work when their children were young. Day care neighbor #3 tended to counsel working mothers regarding the maternal needs of young children and the difficulties of obtaining this at a feasible cost. She also made a great effort to recruit new givers she thought would do well in the role, emphasizing to them their contribution to society through helping even one child to have a better environment. These recruitment activities bore little fruit for the first couple of years, but finally produced some high quality arrangements of long duration which #3 continued to nurture. These few excellent arrangements served to salve the sting of many unsuccessful attempts to bring together what she thought would be ideal matches of need and resource.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #5
northwest, 24 months

SES: education, income, and residence	Some high school; less than $3,000; lower class - industrial
Family composition	Married; one child age 7
Extent of care giving	Actively sought children to care for
Average monthly volume of user referrals	3.0 (9th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	28/71 = .39 (7th in rank)

Early in the service project staff tended to refer fewer requestors to day care neighbor #5, since she responded to requests by taking into her own home those children needing care, rather than developing and using other resources in the neighborhood, that is, she was more of a caregiver than a day care neighbor. Staff also referred fewer requests to day care neighbor #5 because of her relative inaccessibility, located in the center of an industrial area and off of bus routes. These practices probably accounted for her somewhat low rank in total volume of referrals. However, she ranked higher on the ratio of the arrangements matched through her to her total referrals, indicating that though she received fewer referrals than many she was relatively instrumental in helping those who did come to her. Still, it must be repeated that this degree of matching success did not necessarily reflect her skill as a day care neighbor in bringing requestors together with others in the neighborhood; partly her success reflected her tendency to take all of the children into her own home.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #8
northwest, 16 months

SES: education, income, and residence	High school graduate; $3-5,000; lower middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; one child age 4
Extent of care giving	Ambivalent
Average monthly volume of user referrals	4.0 (6th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	15/64 - .23 (11th in rank)

Day care neighbor #8 lived in a low income neighborhood which contained several business firms and hospitals, many single, older, retired people, a high rise public housing project, an increasing influx of hippies, and a public elementary school with a high transient pupil population. This was the most difficult area of northwest in which to find a day care neighbor, especially one who would meet most of the criteria for selection of a day care neighbor which had been developed by the time #8 was selected. She was the youngest of all the day care neighbors and always wavered between giving care herself and refusing to do so. She worked outside the home part time as a hospital laboratory technician in order to maintain the family budget and so she and her student husband could improve their standard of living. Since #8 was the only day care neighbor in her school area she alone received requests from people in that neighborhood.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #11
southeast, 18 months

SES: education, income, and residence	High school graduate; $5-8,000; middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 3 children ages 8 - 12
Extent of care giving	Full time giver
Average monthly volume of user referrals	4.3 (5th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	43/78 = .55 (2nd in rank)

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #12
southeast, 18 months

SES: education, income, and residence	College graduate; $5-8,000; middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; Two children ages 5 and 9
Extent of care giving	Part time and irregularly
Average monthly volume of user referrals	3.9 (7th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	12/71 = .17 (12th in rank)

Day care neighbors #11 and #12 lived in adjacent school areas within a larger community which has had an old traditional identity. One of the marks of this identification was a local newspaper which had loyal support from both the residents and businesses in the area. The editor had been instrumental in alerting project staff to the need for day care services in this community. As a means of publicizing themselves as day care neighbors, #11 and #12 put a joint ad in this local paper offering to help people

who wanted to use or to give family day care. As a result, they received a comparable volume of day care referrals. Their role durations were the same and their neighborhoods also were comparable, but there were striking contrasts between them and their styles of neighboring. Especially significant was the difference in their wish to give care themselves. Day care neighbor #11, who met all of the selection criteria at the time of recruitment, was giving care to several children both part time and full time, and though she didn't wish to take more at the time, she was known in the neighborhood as a caregiver.

Day care neighbor #11 lived in a low to middle-class neighborhood, and was oriented towards home and children. She and her husband were active in church and school activities as well as Scouts, Campfire groups, etc. They had a long history of giving foster care and family day care, so the day care neighbor role fitted in nicely with past experience. Day care neighbor #11 functioned well in the recruiting, matching, and maintaining facets of the day care neighbor role, thereby giving further credibility to the validity of the selection criteria.

Day care neighbor #12 was not well known in her neighborhood as a giver or as a resource for finding child care. She was intellectually interested in the service and its operation but had an adult-oriented, business approach. Project staff had become acquainted with her originally when she and a friend had just terminated a privately owned community service which supplied women to give home care to sick and elderly people. This business, she explained, had tapered off as the Medicare program took over. Her friend had taken another job and she had decided to go into the day care business using family day care as the new focus of service. This venture was short-lived and when her neighborhood was selected as one of the areas for the Day Care Neighbor Service she was invited to become a day

care neighbor because of her previous experience, though she did not meet some of the selection criteria, i.e., she was not a participant in the day care system as a giver, and she had not been nominated by people in her neighborhood. During the course of her day care neighbor role, #12 became both a user and a giver and tried to make herself known as a day care resource in the community. Usually her efforts were brief, scattered, and her interests moved in a direction away from family and home, e.g., selling Avon and Fuller Brush, or taking a writing course.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #7
northwest, 2 months
southeast, 15 months

SES: education, income, and residence	Some high school; $5-8,000; lower middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 3 children ages 2 - 11
Extent of care giving	Full time giver
Average monthly volume of user referrals	4.7 (3rd in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	40/80 = .50 (3rd in rank)

Day care neighbor #7 lived in an area with a high concentration of working mothers. Although the school area selected was quite large geographically, the neighborhood served by #7 was contained within a two-block radius. She lived in a very large apartment complex in which low income and welfare families of all sizes and description were housed. Located just off a major thoroughfare with excellent access to public transportation and easy automobile routes, the apartments attracted many working people. There were single people, married couples with and with-

out children where either one or both adults worked away from home, single parents who worked or were at home with their children, and children ranging in age from infancy through adolescence. There were several teenagers who did evening and after school babysitting. Day care needs were great and diverse, from the occasional evening or afternoon to full time (both days and nights) for working parents. Because she had had previous experience as a day care neighbor in northwest Portland, #7 moved quickly into her role in southeast and with more rapid results since the demand and the supply were so great in her neighborhood. Though she made a few initial overtures to her neighbors, the major source of referrals was the apartment manager who gave advice to new families moving into the apartment complex and to other tenants who inquired about babysitting. Later, the manager tended to use #7 to maintain peace and order among the tenants #7 knew so well because of her day care neighbor role.

In volume of user referrals #7 ranked high. She also reported many giver referrals, probably because of the number of teenagers who came to her wanting jobs on a part time or occasional basis. There were several reasons for her volume and matchmaking rankings. She had a high number of requests for occasional part time needs and resources that were matched and which raised both the volume of total referrals and matched arrangements. She took some children herself (often on a temporary basis until she could match with greater appropriateness). There was a fairly high degree of turnover due to the transitory nature of the tenants (though she did have some long duration arrangements). Perhaps most important was her personal ability to cope with people who frequently saw their day care need as a daily crisis. She responded quickly and concretely but with an eye toward stability and quality care as goals to be achieved.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #14
southeast, 18 months

SES: education, income, and residence	High school graduate; $8-12,000; middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 3 children ages 9 - 19
Extent of care giving	Only gave care in emergencies
Average monthly volume of user referrals	1.6 (11th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	10/28 = .36 (9th in rank)

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #15
southeast, 16 months

SES: education, income, and residence	High school graduate; $5-8,000; lower middle class - residential
Family composition	Married: 4 children ages 8 - 19
Extent of care giving	Full time giver
Average monthly volume of user referrals	0.6 (13th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	6/10 = .60 (1st in rank)

Day care neighbors #14 and #15 lived in adjacent areas some miles away from #11, #12 and #7. Since the role durations were roughly the same and their neighborhoods had been chosen using the same criteria as all the rest in southeast, it was curious that #14 and #15 ranked so low in the volume of referrals. Day care neighbor #15 ranked high, however, in the ratio of matches to referrals though the numbers were too small for reliable comparison. Neither #14 nor #15 had an active referral source such as #7's apartment manager, or the ad run by #11 and #12. Both made efforts to identify themselves in their neighborhoods as day care neighbors and offered help to those requestors who came to their attention. Day care neighbor #15

had been both a user and a giver of day care and was giving care at the time of her recruitment to the role. In contrast, #14 had not used or given care except on an occasional basis. She did give some part time temporary care to some neighbor children after she became a day care neighbor and she gave considerable, though irregular, care to her infant grandchild. Both #14 and #15 had children in elementary and high school, as well as adult children living out of the home. They had known each other through their sons' participation in Little League some years before, yet they neither compared notes nor offered to help one another in their day care neighbor roles. It was frustrating to both that they had so few referrals. Eventually #15 took a job away from home but she retained her role as day care neighbor and continued to offer help to requestors though it was likely that she was much harder to reach after she went to work. Day care neighbor #14 found it difficult to understand and tolerate working mothers who, she felt, didn't have to work, or welfare recipients whom she viewed as a drain on the taxpaying public, or neighbors whose behavior deviated from her own standards. Despite the circumstances and personalities of #14 and #15, it would seem that the major factor for their low volume of referrals was lack of an active referral source, not lack of day care needs or resources.

Day care neighbor #15's neighborhood was often referred to as in tremendous need of day care. However, it was in this area and #13's neighborhood (which later also became #19's) where there was the greatest difficulty finding out about the natural day care system in order to recruit the right person for the day care neighbor role. These two old and well established neighborhoods, which represented opposite ends of the socioeconomic scale, had in common a distrust and suspicion of strangers. Day care neighbor #15's neighborhood was made up of low to middle income families sometimes referred

to as "culturally deprived;" and #13's consisted of upper middle class families with high incomes and a reputation for its "fine old families." Actually neither neighborhood measured up to its stereotype; #15's was not so culturally deprived nor was #13's so socially prominent.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #13
southeast, 7 months

SES: education, income, and residence	College graduate; over $14,000;upper middle class,established residential
Family composition	Married; 4 children - ages 5 - 13
Extent of care giving	Frequently gave care but did not actively seek children to care for
Average monthly volume of user referrals	2.1 (10th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	7/15 = .47 (4th in rank)

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #19
southeast, 6 months

SES: education, income, and residence	College graduate; over $14,000;upper middle class,established residential
Family composition	Married; 5 children ages 3 - 9
Extent of care giving	Gave full time care to neighbor's children but did not seek others
Average monthly volume of user referrals	1.5 (12th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	4/9 = .44 (5th in rank)

Residents in #13's neighborhoos denied the existence of day care need and of child care by nonrelatives in the neighborhood, though it later became apparent that there was as active a network there as in any other area. It did differ from other neighborhoods in that there were more nonrelatives coming into the homes to give care to children and that these givers often

coupled this role with other domestic services on a regular basis one or two days per week. This was the only neighborhood where the school refused to provide staff with the names of people who did babysitting in the community, though there was such a list compiled by the school secretary. Project staff saw this as fear of possible repercussions if the school administration gave this kind of privileged information to a nonresident. Although this neighborhood isolated itself from "outsiders", especially people from other socioeconomic groups and from public agencies, it did have the usual exchange system whereby neighbors and friends "helped" each other by taking a child or two while the mother did errands or volunteer work. Staff finally located and recruited #13 though it was known she would be moving away in less than a year. It was expected that the service would become known and accepted in that time and that recruitment of a replacement would be expedited, which was exactly what happened. Day care neighbors #13 and #19 lived across the street from one another and both had several children of their own as well as some day care children from the neighborhood whose parents paid for care on a regular basis. This substantiated the hypothesis that there is a day care system in operation in neighborhoods of all levels despite frequent denial of its existence.

Both #13 and #19 performed adequately in the matching function of their day care neighbor role, but the numbers are so small that any explanation would be questionable. Although the sizes of their families were similar, the ages of their children were different. Most of #19's children were preschool age, with two in the primary grades, whereas #13's were all older, the youngest a kindergarten child. Day care neighbor #13 experienced less personal drain from caring for her children and had more to invest in the lives of people outside of her family, even though she

was under some stress in preparation for the move to another state. She had been reaching outside the family circle, extending her caregiving not only to her neighbors, but seeking more understanding of child behavior through courses available at her church. Here again it appeared that the criterion "relatively free of personal drain" was a useful tool in selection[1], since #13 appeared to enjoy her day care neighbor role more than #19 though there was little difference in the quantative statistics.

DAY CARE NEIGHBOR #16
southeast, 8 months

SES: education, income, and residence	Some high school; $3-5,000; lower middle class - residential
Family composition	Married; 4 children ages 5 - 12
Extent of care giving	Full time giver
Average monthly volume of user referrals	3.6 (8th in rank)
Proportion of user referrals matched by DCN	12/29 = .41 (6th in rank)

The area of day care neighbor #16 was near but not adjacent to #12's or #7's neighborhoods, as shown in Chapter Three (see map following page 27). Although that school district included a wide range of socioeconomic levels as well as a variety of racial and of nationality sub-cultures, this neighbor was recruited in a small, specific area identified by the school as a "problem neighborhood," meaning that it had a high population of pupils causing difficulties in school. The focus with day care neighbor #16 was not only on the day care service, but also on testing a preventive service for the school. Simultaneously, this offered opportunity to see how the Day Care Neighbor Service would work under school auspices with a school

[1] Handbook, op.cit., p. 9.

social worker, who happened to be male, offering the consultation.

Not only did the school identify this neighborhood within its boundaries as a troubled area but it was a target for various programs locally and federally sponsored to help families in need of medical care, financial aid, improved housing and other social services. The choice of #16 as a day care neighbor was confirmed when several other organizations began seeking her for such roles as teacher aide, helper in an OEO program, and as neighborhood aide for a medical program -- a position she accepted upon termination of her day care neighbor role. These various community contacts contributed as referral sources to #16's referrals despite her short role duration as a day care neighbor. Day care neighbor #16 and her husband spoke of the high degree of suspicion regarding "outsiders" in their neighborhood, but there seemed to be less of it than in either #15's or #13's neighborhoods. What did seem different was the lack of trust #16's husband expressed regarding her talking with strangers, especially men. Several of the day care neighbors had reported that their husbands disapproved of their being nosy or overly involved with neighbors, but none had been so obviously critical and almost paranoid about the role. As consultation proceeded #16 described her husband's extremely negative feelings about any other males coming into the house, be they friend or stranger, unless he was present. This presented a problem for the male consultant which was resolved, though never very successfully, by meeting the day care neighbor at the school.

Analysis and Interpretation of Kinds of Neighboring

How can the variations in volume of user referrals and in the matchmaking ratios best be explained? In the above descriptions of the day care

neighbors and the systems of activity associated with them, these variations were interpreted in terms of what was known about each day care neighbor. Despite the idiosyncrasies of the various day care neighbor systems some generalizations can be made as tentative interpretative hypotheses.

The variation in volume of referrals can probably best be explained as arising from three sources, of which the third is probably the most important.

1. Partly it was artifactual due to the practice of making multiple referrals on the same request. This practice, which was discussed in Chapter Three, was followed less in the southeast area of the demonstration and involved some neighbors more than others. The number of referrals per user request was 1.8 in the northwest and 1.2 in the southeast; for givers it was 1.6 and 1.2.
2. Partly also the variation in volume of referrals arose from differences in geographic accessibility of the day care neighbors to transportation or to face-to-face propinquity and neighborhood interaction, as well as from differences in availability of the neighbors such as being home and near the telephone.
3. But probably the largest source of variation was whether or not the day care neighbor was linked to an active referral source that was external to her usual circle of neighborhood contacts.

The variations found in the matching ratios, that is in the proportion of referrals that resulted in a match made by the day care neighbor, probably are best explained by a difference in style of day care neighboring

that involved a different way of being active as a day care neighbor. Specifically this difference in style of neighboring was what was referred to in the boxes above as the neighbor's willingness to give care herself in addition to her matchmaking activity. This trait appeared to be associated with the social class of the day care neighbor.

This possible explanation of the variations in the matchmaking ratios of the day care neighbors was first suggested by an association found between the matchmaking ratios and the willingness of the neighbor to give care herself. This is shown in Table 9. All day care neighbors were selected partly on the basis that they had given day care themselves, but some were much more anxious to be active in performance of the caregiving role than others. "Willingness to give care" was a judgment about the attitudes and behaviors of the day care neighbors as made by the consultant who worked with them. Though a post hoc explanation, the evidence seemed fairly clear, as discussed in the narrative descriptions of the day care neighbors.

Table 9 here

But why should the more active care givers be the more "successful" matchmakers? It might be argued that this association could be artifactual, with the matchmaking ratios spuriously inflated as a measure of day care neighboring by the fact that the neighbor took the children herself. A high proportion could represent caregiving, not neighboring. This interpretation does not check out, however. When a day care neighbor did take a child into her own home rather than facilitating an arrangement in another home, it was counted as a matched user request, and it was not counted as a request to give care matched through herself. Thus, a high level of matchmaking for

Table 9

Day Care Neighbor's Willingness to Give Full-Time Day Care and the Ratio of Matchmaking to User Referrals

Day Care Neighbors				Rank Orders of Matching Ratios*	
Wanting to Give Full-Time Care		Preferring Not to Give Full-Time Care		Matched by DCN	Matched by Other Than DCN
#11	.55			1	10
# 7	.50			2	9
#16	.41			3	8
# 5	.39			4	6
# 2	.37			5	5
		#14	.36	6	7
		# 1	.29	7	4
		# 8	.23	8	3
		#12	.17	9	2
		# 3	.12	10	1

RATIOS

* The rank order for the ratios "matched by other" is inversely related to the rank order shown in the table (Rho = -.96). This is discussed later in the chapter on page 53, as well as the reason for eliminating 3 neighbors from the analysis.

giver referrals could not occur if the matchmaking consisted appreciably of the neighbor taking the business herself.

An inspection of the mean monthly giver referrals in Table 10, however, reveals that only in the case of day care neighbor #5, who was known to take all the business herself, was there a low level of matching of givers by day care neighbors who were willing to give care themselves.

Table 10 here

Thus the evidence tends to confirm the original assumption of the Day Care Neighbor Service that involvement in the day care giver role is an important condition associated with effective day care neighboring. But what about the other day care neighbors whose neighbor role did not involve appreciable caregiving? Their referrals resulted in completed arrangements too, but the resulting arrangements were not with persons suggested by the day care neighbor. It will be remembered that the proportion of referrals that somehow resulted in completed arrangements remained relatively stable regardless of whether the matchmaking process was identified as having eventuated in a match by the day care neighbor or in a match completed in some other way. This was shown previously in Table 8. When we examine the activity of the Day Care Neighbor Service, neighbor by neighbor, as in Table 9, we find that the ratio of referrals matched by the day care neighbor is inversely related to the ratio of arrangements completed in other ways (Rho = -.96, N = 10).[2] The ultimate outcomes for requestors were the same,

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[2] For this analysis, three day care neighbors, #13, #15, and #19, were eliminated due to the small N's of their referrals. Had they been included, the rank order correlation would have been Rho = -.86 (N = 13).

This inverse relationship also held though somewhat less strongly for referrals of giver requests (Rho = -.66; N = 10; or, for N = 13, Rho = -.77). Working mothers probably are under greater pressure to make some kind of day

Table 10

Day Care Neighbor's Willingness to Give Full-Time Day Care and the Mean Number of Giver Referrals Matched by Her Monthly

Day Care Neighbors			
Wanting to Give Full-Time Care		Preferring Not to Give Full-Time Care	
#7	1.5		
#11	.8		
		#1	.7
		#12	.7
#16	.6		
		#8	.5
#2	.3		
		#3	.3
		#14	.2
#5	.0		

but there was a difference in neighboring or in use of the neighbor.

This relationship still calls for further interpretation. Why should willingness to be an active caregiver be associated with the kind of neighboring that results in requests being matched by the neighbor? Or obversely, why should motivation to be a day care neighbor only, without extensive caregiving, be associated with lower ratios of matching, often despite a high volume of referrals or completed arrangements?

A clue can perhaps be found in the different socioeconomic circumstances of the two groups of day care neighbors. By inspection of the data presented in the boxes describing each day care neighbor, it may be seen that those willing to give care themselves had less education, had lower family incomes, and for the most part lived in lower income neighborhoods. Thus not only did these neighbors have a greater economic need to give day care themselves, but they may have been more prone to respond directly to the needs of requestors whose motivations in making arrangements were close to their own. Perhaps, though, they were more directive in the way in which they did their matchmaking than the relatively more upper-class day care neighbors whose facilitating efforts tended to stimulate their requestors to make arrangements on their own. At the same time there probably were social class differences in the way in which the requestors made use of the neighbors in the different areas. Whatever the interpretation, it would appear that a different style of day care neighboring and use of day care neighbors was operating within the service.

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care arrangement one way or another, as compared with caregivers whose need to make an arrangement is relatively less urgent. In one of the samples of the Field Study the mother's perceived economic need to work was negatively correlated .70 with a factor of family intactness and family income, while the sitter's perceived economic need to babysit was negatively correlated only .35 with her family intactness and family income.

The primary function of the Day Care Neighbor Service has been described as one of "facilitating" the making of day care arrangements, and this apparently is accomplished in different ways with differing degrees of direct help. It is important to specify somewhat more clearly what should be meant by the term "facilitating" as it applies to the Day Care Neighbor Service. Does it mean that the service makes it possible for persons to make arrangements who otherwise would be unable to do so? Or does it mean that the service makes it possible for people to make different arrangements than they otherwise might, though they would be making some kind of arrangement anyway? Or does it simply mean that the service makes easier the <u>way</u> in which arrangements are made, involving less difficulty and stress for the family?

Since the percentage of requests for day care that resulted in a completed arrangement remained relatively stable despite the variations in the proportions that were matched through the day care neighbors, the evidence appears to support the conclusion that the service did not appreciably increase the numbers of people who made day care arrangements. Working mothers feel constrained to make some kind of an arrangement if they must work, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the Day Care Neighbor Service did not markedly increase the likelihood that a mother would go to work or that a working mother would find a day care arrangement. All that the service probably accomplishes is to help families to make their decisions about employment and child care in such a way as to improve the process by which the arrangements are made. It is possible also that the recruitment efforts of the day care neighbors resulted in the selection of somewhat better resources than otherwise might be used. Systematic evidence of this result was not obtained, although it was apparent to project staff that the day

care neighbors in responding to day care requests would avoid supplying the names of caregivers regarded as providing poor quality care.

The implications of these findings should mollify those who disapprove of maternal employment and who would be inclined to criticize the Day Care Neighbor Service for contributing to the rate of maternal employment. On the other hand, those seeking ways of facilitating entry of women into the labor force also should view the power of the service with caution, especially for mothers whose economic need to work is strongly felt. The Day Care Neighbor Service probably should be thought of simply as an approach that facilitates the way in which day care arrangements are made, possibly resulting in more satisfactory arrangements for the family.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KINDS OF REQUESTS THAT REACHED THE SERVICE

This chapter describes the kinds of requests for day care that were made to the Day Care Neighbor Service and assesses the applicability of the service to the population of persons who make home care and family day care arrangements. The Day Care Neighbor Service handled both user requests and giver requests, and requests to the service by both kinds of requestors will be examined.

First of all let us look at the user requests in terms of the reasons reported for requesting care and whether the pattern of care requested was regular and full-time. Of the requests for day care by day care users,

56% were for full-time care

23% were for part-time care

21% were for an irregular pattern of care.

100% N = 578; unknown =11

The reasons given for requesting care were,

74% for working[1]

26% for other reasons

100% N = 585; unknown = 4

Table 11 shows how the pattern of care requested combines with the reasons for needing care. Although 52% of the user requests known to the Day Care Neighbor Service during the two year demonstration were for full-time care for reasons of maternal employment,[2] neighborhood day care and the Day Care Neighbor Service were used also by people who had other reasons for needing

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Table 11 here

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[1] Includes 2% attending school and 11% planning to work or attend school.

[2] Please note that it is possible for a full-time working mother to have a part-time care arrangement.

Table 11

Reason for Needing Day Care and Pattern of Care Requested for User Requests (All Percentages Based on Total Requests)

Patterns of Care Requested	For Working	For Other Reasons	
Full-time care	52	4	56
Part-time care	18	5	23
Irregular Pattern of Care	4	17	21
			100% N=578*

* Unknown = 11

care, or whose day care needs involved an irregular pattern of care.

The special reasons other than working, as reported by the day care neighbors, are listed in Table 12 in order to show the variety of requests and the idiosyncratic nature of many of them. As may be seen, the mother's illness and the illness or vacation of the regular caregiver were frequent reasons given, but temporary short-term recreation and relief from child care responsibilities lead the list of reasons other than work for requesting day care.

Table 12 here

One of the reasons it is important to recognize the heterogeneity of requests that come to the Day Care Neighbor Service is that these requests are not easily accommodated by organized day care programs, either by a day care center or by agency-supervised family day care. Litwak,[3] in arguing that family structure in the United States constitutes a "modified extended family," develops a "shared functions" theory in which it is asserted that the division of labor between bureaucratic organizations and the family is not based on functions such as assistance, child care, or education, but on the regularity with which a function is to be performed. The family carries responsibility for the irregular, idiosyncratic tasks while bureaucracies tend to assume responsibility for those regular and persistent tasks that will fit into formal programs for broad categories of people.

Litwak's claims regarding the family apply also to the use of nonrelatives who are available in the neighborhood. Neighborhood day care arrange-

[3] Eugene Litwak, "Extended Kin Relations in an Industrial Democratic Society," in Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations, Edited by Ethel Shanas and Gordon F. Streib (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 290-323.

Table 12

Special Reasons Given for Requesting
Day Care

Reason	Frequency
Recreation or relief from child care	42
Mother ill, usually in hospital	17
Regular giver ill or on vacation; need for substitute	17
School on special irregular basis	10
Mother going on a trip	8
Child ill	5
Church: mother goes, volunteers, teaches	4
Companionship for child	2
Mother on jury duty	2
Hide from father pending divorce	1
Run errands	1
Irregular work at kindergarten	1
Sews at home and has brain-damaged child	1
Looking for housing	1
Getting re-married	1
Visiting husband in hospital	1
Mother deserted	1
Working in election campaign	1
Going for counseling	1
Protect child from father's beatings	1
Special reason not clear	32
Total	150

care when those needs are unusual in nature and when the pattern of child care needed is either part-time or irregular and of short duration. One hardly presents oneself to a social agency to request day care for a few days while hiding from the boy's father, for going to church, for recreation, or for taking a vacation without the children. At the same time these special requests reveal the extent to which illness of the mother, the child, or the sitter can be a source of disruption of the child care arrangement and of need for an additional temporary arrangement. The stability of any kind of child care arrangement requires backup support when contingencies arise.

In looking at the outcomes of requests in Table 13, we see that requests for irregular care were slightly more likely to have been the result of matchmaking by a day care neighbor.

Table 13 here

Ages of Children

What aged children did the Day Care Neighbor Service reach? Table 14 shows that three fourths of the children known to the service were under 6. These figures are roughly comparable to the census figures on the proportion of family day care children who are under 6, though the contrast is not strictly comparable. Most children of working mothers are of school age, but most children in care with nonrelatives, i.e., in family day care, are under 6, as were most of the children reached by the Day Care Neighbor Service. This was especially true of the children whose mothers work, 81 percent of whom were under 6. Forty-four percent of the children of working mothers using the Day Care Neighbor Service were under three years of age.

Table 14 here

Table 13

Outcome and Pattern of Care Requested

Outcome	Full Time	Part Time	Irregular
Matched by any day care neighbor	58%	60%	69%
Matched by other	42%	40%	31%
	100%	100%	100%
N = 462*	N = 257	N = 107	N = 98

* Of the 589 user requests, 75 cases did not result in a completed arrangement, i.e., no match, and the outcomes were unknown for 52.

Table 14

Ages of Children Reported by Census and Day Care Neighbor Service (Percent)

Ages of Children	Census All children of Working Mothers*	Census Children Cared for at Home by Nonrelatives (Home care)	Census Children Cared for out of Home by Nonrelatives (Family Day Care)*	D C N S Children Known to Day Care Neighbor Service (Home Care and Family Day Care)**	D C N S Children in Full and Part-Time Family Day Care; Working Mothers
Under 3	12	19	25	39	44
3 - 5	19	31	36	37	37
Under 6 subtotal	31	50	61	76	81
6 or over	69	50	39	24	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N=12,287,000	N=1,155,000	N=979,000	N=940	N=488

All census figures on the number of children are based on the primary type of child care arrangement used by mothers who worked either full time or part time for at least 27 weeks during 1964.

* These percentages are approximately the same for full-time working mothers, slightly different for part-time.

** The Day Care Neighbor Service figures on the number of children are based on child care arrangements used for any reason and for care that is full-time, part-time, or irregular.

Duration of Arrangements

The median duration of the terminated arrangements known to the Day Care Neighbor Service was approximately one month; fifty percent lasted less than one month. As one might expect, however, short duration is in part a function of intent, that is, of the reasons for needing day care. Two-thirds of the arrangements that were made for reasons other than work lasted less than a month, because regular care was not requested. See Table 15. Estimating duration from terminated samples, however, provides a biased estimate since those with continuing arrangements are left out while those experiencing repeated turnover are included disproportionately. Also the Day Care Neighbor Service recorded data on all arrangements even if they lasted but one day. In this sense the relatively unbiased sensitivity of the service in recording the incidence of day care arrangements yields an impression of discontinuity that is unfamiliar to those who operate organized day care programs.

Table 15 here

Durations of arrangements were examined separately for those matched by the day care neighbors as compared with those who made arrangements in other ways. There was not the slightest difference between the two groups. What does this mean? Does it mean that the efforts of the day care neighbors have no effect? From the data at hand there is no way of separating out the effects of the service, and the ways in which the matchmaking was done, from the sampling differences among those who turned to and used the service. Yet one is not well advised to interpret the generally short durations of the arrangements in the study as evidence of failure, since when-

Table 15

Duration of Day Care Arrangement
by Reason for Requesting Care

Duration	Reason for Requesting Care: Work		Other		Total	
Less than 1 month	89	(43%)	61	(66%)	150	(50%)
1 - 3 months	68		17		85	
3 - 9 months	42		10		52	
9 months or over	10		4		14	
Total terminated arrangements with known durations	209	100%	92	100%	301	100%
Continuing arrangements or duration unknown	120		41		161	
	329		133		462	

ever one attempts to make a program accessible to a population at risk for some problem such as discontinuity of care, then the more successful the effort is in reaching the population at risk, the more unfavorable the results will appear if interpreted as measures of effectiveness. The duration data presented in this chapter probably should be interpreted as evidence of the ability of the service to reach the population subject to discontinuity of care but to make no dramatic changes in its arrangements.

Type of Care Requested: Family Day Care or Home Care

The picture of the kinds of requests received by the Day Care Neighbor Service is not complete without knowing where--that is, in whose home--day care was given. Most of the caregivers known to the service preferred to give care in their own homes, and so they did. The expressed preferences of the potential care users also tended to conform to a preference for family day care over home care. These preferences are shown in Figure 6. The variation over time reveals that the expressed preferences of its two kinds of requestors tended to converge on family day care as preferred to home care.

Figure 6 here

As an expression of preference this data is biased in the direction of what is realistic in the market place. The level of preference, as well as the trend that is shown, probably reflect a process of learning what works--learning by the users and givers of care as well as by the day care neighbors.

The outcome data from the Day Care Neighbor Service support this conclusion; of the children under six in full or part-time care for reasons of maternal employment, only 17 percent were in home care, that is in their own homes, and 83 percent were in family day care. This is approximately

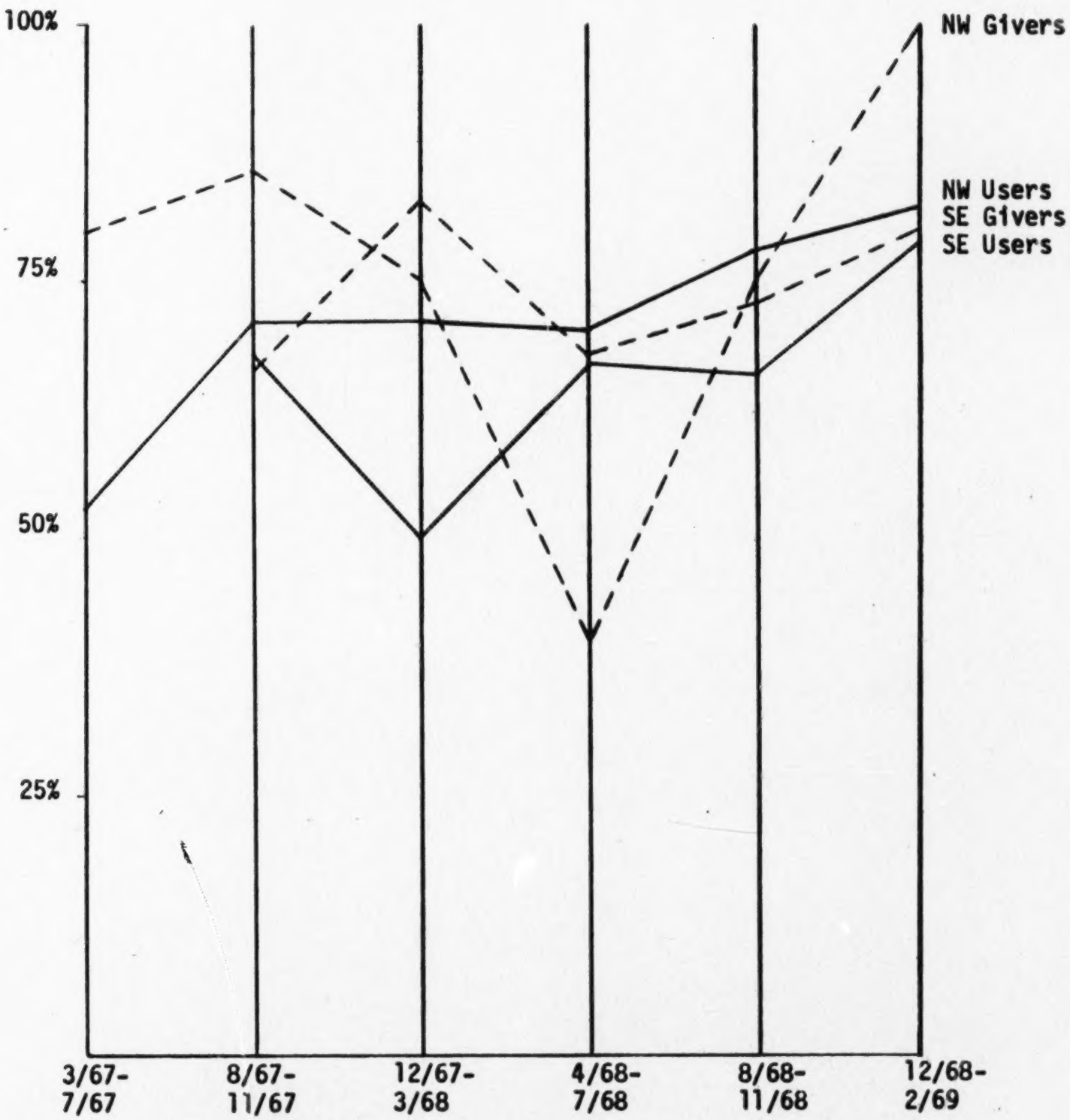

Figure 6. Percent of Requests for Family Day Care (i.e. Care in Giver's Home) Made by Givers and by Users for NW Portland and for Replication in SE Portland

the percentage upon which the preferences converged, as shown in Figure 6.

Seasonal Variations in Requests

One of the most difficult questions to try to answer is deceptively simple: "What volume of service could a Day Care Neighbor Service expect to provide over an extended period of time?" The volume of requests varies seasonally, of course, as shown in Figure 7. September is a big month, when arrangements are made for the new school year; December is down and January is higher.

Figure 7 here

But volume may be affected by many other factors. Figure 7 shows a slight overall decline in the trend of user requests, which may have reflected economic conditions in Portland during the period of the study.[4] Yet other cross currents are possible. To what extent will the service only reach those known originally to the day care neighbors as they begin the role? Of the user requests shown above 28 percent were "repeat requests" by the same users. This further points to a fall off in initial requests. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that most of the requests continued to represent new business for the day care neighbors.

The data collection continued for 24 months, a limited period of time. The evidence does not permit predicting what the effective life span of day care neighboring would be or how often a day care neighbor would have to be replaced in a given neighborhood. Considering the satisfactory continuity in performance of the role and in the new requests handled by the service, the replication of the service over time is fairly promising.

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[4] Roughly comparable results were obtained for the replication in southeast Portland as for northwest Portland.

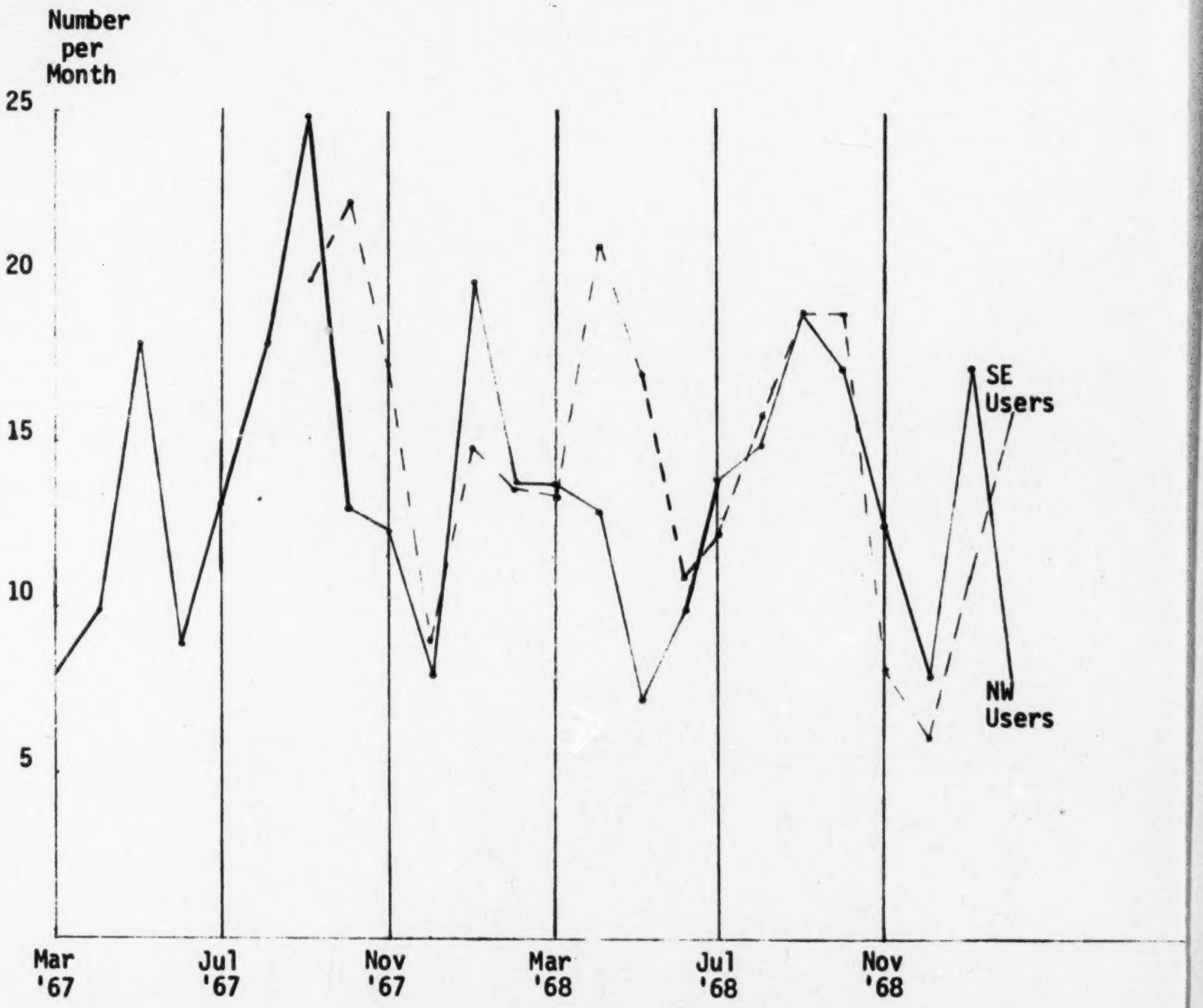

Figure 7. Monthly Variations in Number of User Requests

Applicability of Service to Target Groups

Summarizing the results of the service in reaching the target population, the service:

1. Reaches the users of full-time, part-time and irregular day care arrangements made both for maternal employment and for other special reasons.
2. Reaches both home care and family day care, but especially the the latter.
3. Reaches arrangements made for infants, preschoolers and school age children, but especially for the child under six.
4. Reaches women who can be recruited to provide day care in their own homes.
5. Reaches day care arrangements early in the arrangement process and provides some limited knowledge of them over the continuing period of time.
6. Reaches the children who experience repeated discontinuity of child care.
7. Reaches some instances of abuse, neglect, and inadequate supervision that are visible within the neighborhood.

The service is not a universal method, however, for reaching those who make day care arrangements. The service has the following limitations with respect to its applicability:

1. Day care neighboring tends to be territorially specialized, taking on the characteristics of the neighborhood, whether an apartment building, a trailer court, or an established residential area, and extending mainly to the network of associations that the neighbor has. Thus the reach of a Day Care Neighbor Service is limited to whatever socioeconomic and ethnic groups are a part of the sys-

tem of contacts of the neighbors within the service. Furthermore, within a given geographic area there may be inadequate coverage, that is, not enough day care neighbors. This is a problem for which no satisfactory solution was found. How many day care neighbors are needed in a particular geographic area? Probably more than one per census tract, which was approximately what the demonstration averaged out to. Since each day care neighbor was territorially specialized, a "complete" service would require the addition of day care neighbors until all "neighborhoods" were covered.

2. Not all day care users make their day care arrangements through an intermediary, whether a day care neighbor, friend, or relative. Some turn directly to a friend and ask her to take the child, while others respond to newspaper ads. In two independent samples studied in the Field Study, approximately one-third of the day care arrangements involved the use of some kind of a third party in facilitating the making of the arrangement. Day care neighbors are third-party intermediaries of an informal variety. Presumably many day care consumers would prefer other approaches to making arrangements.

3. The Day Care Neighbor Service is applicable only to those who contract privately for their day care arrangements. This involves an exchange of money for services and independent selection of the child care arrangement by the day care consumer. Again, many consumers prefer formal referral channels and use organized day care programs.

How Many Persons Can the Day Care Neighbor Service be Expected to Reach?

This chapter has concentrated on describing the kinds of requests that came to the service. As a final summary it may be useful to review the number of requestors and the number of children who were reached by the service.

Despite the variation in the number of requests that came to the various day care neighbors and despite the problems of estimating what kinds of results would be found in further replication, there is value simply in using the obtained volume figures as the best estimate of what the Day Care Neighbor Service can do. This is shown in Table 16. Using the results that have been reported in the study and anticipating a full complement of 15 day care neighbors, one could expect in the course of one year to receive 482 requests[5] for day care from 346 care users for 554 children. These figures, however, underestimate the total number of children who would be reached by the service. If one counts also the caregivers' own children, a conservative estimate would place at more than 882 the number of children's lives that the Day Care Neighbor Service would have the capability of reaching indirectly within the course of a year.

Table 16 here

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[5] Of these user requests approximately 78% would result in a completed day care arrangement, and 49% would result in arrangements matched by a day care neighbor.

Table 16

The Estimated Number of Persons Who Can Be Reached by the Day Care Neighbor Service

	Totals for the 24 month demonstration	Monthly Average per DCN	Yearly Average per DCN	Yearly Estimate for unit of 15 DCNs
Number of user requests	589	2.68	32	482
Number of care users	422	1.92	23	346
Number of children (users)	677	3.08	37	554
Number of caregiver requests	272	1.24	15	223
Number of caregivers	200	.91	11	164
Number of caregivers' own children under 12 (estimated from panel study data)	400	1.82	22	328
Number of children reached	1077	4.90	59	882

CHAPTER SIX

UTILIZATION OF THE DAY CARE NEIGHBOR SERVICE: SOME POSSIBILITIES AND SOME LIMITATIONS

This report has presented an evaluation of the Day Care Neighbor Service that at least partially demonstrates the feasibility of the service as a viable approach. Although further research remains to be done in evaluating the Day Care Neighbor Service, the model as described in this report is perhaps well enough developed to justify commending it to others who may wish to share in the process of replicating and evaluating the service. It is in this spirit that both this descriptive study and the Handbook have been written.

The validity of the demonstration rests on many assumptions which would require further research to test. It may be useful, however, to point out some of these validity assumptions since successful replication or utilization of the service may be contingent on the assumed conditions.

1 - The "need for day care" is not simply a lack of facilities but consists partly of problems experienced in the process of making arrangements.

A fundamental validity assumption of the Day Care Neighbor Service lies in its analysis of day care needs, as developed in Chapter Two.[1] The service rests on the assumption that the so-called "need for day care," though perceived frequently as a lack of day care facilities or other child care resources, is in part a need for help in the process of making arrangements. The feasibility of the matchmaking service provided by the day care neighbors already offers some evidence in support of the assumption that the matchmaking service meets a critical need. The question remains as to how great this matchmaking need would be if an abundance of high quality day care resources were available. Probably the need would persist for the basic process, and providing new facilities for a minority of day care consumers will not solve

[1] Also in Emlen, "Realistic Planning for the Day Care Consumer," op.cit.

the arrangement problems of the vast majority. What is needed is the development within each community of a system of information and referral and consultative support by which the natural child care resources and arrangement efforts can be strengthened.

2 - The informal matchmaking system exists and will continue to exist and should be left intact as an unofficial operation, independent of agency certification efforts.

Because of the problems agencies have in certifying that day care homes meet standards, it would be natural to suppose that the Day Care Neighbor Service might provide an alternative approach to certification. However, official certification responsibilities probably in the long run would be incompatible with continued use of the natural system. The Day Care Neighbor Service does not certify day care homes. The day care neighbors are not recruited into agency membership as agency personnel; rather their informal status as neighbors is left intact. Responsibility for the selection decision remains with the parties who make the day care arrangement. Though the day care neighbor facilitates matchmaking, there is no agency decision. The day care neighbor may convey impressions and evaluative opinions, but is not seen as certifying the home in any official sense. Indeed working mothers who had been located for a panel study which used the Day Care Neighbor Service as a sampling frame for locating people who had made new day care arrangements frequently wondered how the researchers had gotten their names. They had not stopped to realize that they had been helped along in the process of making day care arrangements by a special kind of person known as a "day care neighbor."

By the very nature of her informal neighborhood position, the day care neighbor cannot be expected to undertake the kind of formal investigation that is the basis for certification and licensing. This is not a matter of training; the day care neighbors may in fact have more than enough informa-

tion to carry out this task and the necessary tact to do it acceptably. But their role and usefulness could be destroyed if they were to be required to produce such information in any official form. Day care neighbors may be expected to inform the givers and users of day care of the existence of licensing regulations, as long as the neighbors are not required to carry out inspection and enforcement activities.

3 - <u>The feasibility and effectiveness of the service depend on the skill of the consultant in the use of consultation method</u>.

A corollary of the previous assumption is that the day care neighbors are able to maintain their unofficial neighborhood status and continue to participate in the natural system by which neighborhood day care arrangements are made because they are not supervised but are provided with expert consultation. The success of the service probably depends on the ability of the consultant to play the consultant role and avoid usurping the day care neighbor's position as the one who offers the direct help.

The staffing formula according to the model that was demonstrated consists of one paid professional consultant per 15 day care neighbors. The day care neighbors are "home-centered" women who, though paid $25 a month, are volunteers. Yet they are not self-selected; they do not apply for the job, but are discovered and recruited. They are not paraprofessionals, they are not given formal training, nor are they given encouragement to step up a career ladder. The consultants, on the other hand, are highly trained. They are social workers who have graduate training, talent and experience, with skill for clinical work, for use of consultation techniques, for strengthening neighborhood relationships, and for the development of community programs. How well the service would

work if the model were changed in this important respect is a matter of conjecture.

Perhaps a more fundamental question is whether the consultant is needed at all. Since the demonstration was not done without one for purposes of comparison, no firm conclusion can be drawn. However, upon completion of the demonstration, some diminished activity by the day care neighbors was apparent.

To claim that there is a method also implies that what was done by the consultants in this demonstration can be replicated by other consultants. The method was articulated in the Handbook[2] but its transferability to other consultants needs further testing.

4 - The service is effective in stabilizing and improving the quality of private family day care arrangements.

The Day Care Neighbor Service offers a sharply focused instrument designed to provide a missing element in the day care process. A family day care arrangement is primarily dependent upon a contractual and personal agreement between a working mother and her caregiver, but the arrangement also owes its sometimes precarious existence to the adjustment of the child and to external social supports. Facilitated in the first place by the matchmaking help of the day care neighbor as a third-party intermediary, the day care arrangement may remain inherently unstable without help in the selection process and without continued support for the maintenance of the relationships involved. This is an assumption. Furthermore, as was suggested in assumption 3 above, the kind of third-party support that may be necessary to initiate and stabilize family day care arrangements probably should not be taken for granted but should itself be strengthened through

2 Op. cit.

the consultation process provided by the Day Care Neighbor Service.

The problems involved in assessing the effectiveness of the Day Care Neighbor Service were discussed fully in Chapter One, where the point was made that the service introduces a very small increment of change into a complex system of behaviors which result in day care outcomes. See Figure 2, following page 7. The contribution of the Day Care Neighbor Service itself is limited in comparison with the overriding significance of socio-economic conditions and national policies affecting family life and the general state of educational enrichment as it prevails for early childhood in the United States. These factors and others that affect the day care behaviors of working mothers and of the caregivers who respond to their child care needs are probably of more far-reaching influence than anything that could be accomplished by the Day Care Neighbor Service, or perhaps by any other day care service. The assumption that the service does contribute something to strengthening the child care situations of children is yet an article of faith.

Though the Day Care Neighbor Service has not been demonstrated to work in the effectiveness sense, but only in the feasibility or operational sense, it probably could be used more deftly if more were known about the dynamics of behavior in the day care arrangement. What are the sources of stability and instability in the family day care arrangement? To what extent do they arise from the working mother and the circumstances of her life and attitudes and behaviors, to what extent from the life of the caregiver, or to what extent from the interaction between them in the selection process and within the arrangement? These kinds of questions are those being pursued by the project in a panel study in which the interaction between mother and sitter is being studied intensively over time. The

answers to such questions are needed in order to test a host of validity assumptions that underlie the service.

5 - The Day Care Neighbor Service has a unique applicability.

The assumption is by no means tested that the Day Care Neighbor Service is the most efficient approach that can be used to reach and strengthen child care arrangements made in the private sector. There are other approaches such as the work of Scheinfeld in Chicago which attempts to build neighborhood organizations around day care needs, or as what he refers to as "building developmental neighborhoods."[3] The Day Care Neighbor Service by contrast does not try to organize the neighborhood but to use its members who play home-centered roles to reach other individuals within the neighborhood mostly on a one-to-one basis. Thus it has the capability of reaching persons not associated with organizations.

In addition, however, licensing programs, home teaching programs, neighborhood day care centers, and specialized family day care service may all be needed. There probably always will be a need to have a variety of centers and services, as well as home and neighborhood intervention programs. People are very different in their day care needs and preferences, and there is no substitute for a pluralistic approach to day care planning in which both formal and informal programs are developed. For the present, however, the ability of the Day Care Neighbor Service to reach the target population has not been compared with other approaches. Applicability of the Day Care Neighbor Service was discussed in Chapter Five.

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[3] Daniel R. Scheinfeld, "On Developing Developmental Families," in Critical Issues in Research Related to Disadvantaged Children, (ed) Edith Grotberg (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1969)

6 - The Day Care Neighbor Service is a program adjunct that can be attached to a variety of settings.

A demonstration of the feasibility of an innovation is not complete without showing how it can be adapted and used as part of an ongoing program. Though initiated under the auspices of a research project, the Day Care Neighbor Service was viewed from the outset not as an independent agency but as a service model to be incorporated into the day care programs of community agencies. This report does not focus on administrative issues or compare the merits and drawbacks of different auspices for the service, but it is possible to suggest some advantages to be gained from attaching the service as an adjunct of various possible settings and programs.

The service was found viable as an adjunct of a day care center, extending the type of care and service it could offer a family calling in, as well as giving the agency outreach into the neighborhood, and experience in assessing community needs. The service also can be an asset to agency-supervised family day care by reaching caregivers who could be recruited into those programs which offer a full range of services.

Perhaps one of the most exciting applications of the Day Care Neighbor Service would be as an adjunct of a centralized information and referral office. By linking the natural, informal, and decentralized information and matchmaking system to an official, centralized information headquarters a community planning agency could refer the full range of day care resources and reach a wider population of day care consumers.

The public welfare agency is another program which, because it usually operates in a centralized way, can benefit by linking its case-by-case services to a neighborhood approach that strengthens the existing day care

resources used by the clients.[4] The Day Care Neighbor Service was tried out with a department of public welfare and found especially useful in meeting its responsibility for protective services. This experience will be described in a separate report.

Two settings which already are decentralized to the neighborhood level are elementary schools and housing projects. The school's concern with early childhood for all children can be extended easily to child care, and principals, teachers, school social workers, and school secretaries frequently are found involved in the processes by which child care arrangements are made. Housing projects, of course, are a natural neighborhood on an even smaller scale, to which the Day Care Neighbor Service is applicable.

Finally a day care givers association having an economic interest in improving the quality of day care offered in the community, could find a network of day care neighbors of assistance in providing caregivers with backup support, emergency help, relief caregiving, and educational enrichment.

If the underlying assumptions of the Day Care Neighbor Service are valid, then it appears to offer an innovative instrument of change. Operationally feasible in performing information, recruitment, and matchmaking functions, the service reaches systems of behavior that have been relatively inaccessible to organized day care programs. It operates on a principle of making maximum use of the least effort necessary to strengthen ongoing social processes without disturbing the informal neighborhood status of the behavior involved. Naturally, such an indirect instrument of change

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[4] For a kindred approach applied to the public welfare setting, see Audrey Pittman, "A Realistic Plan for the Day Care Consumer," Social Work Practice, 1970 (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1970).

has limited objectives, but the effects, while modest, are perhaps not insignificant, considering the economy of the intervention effort. The sharp focus of the service, as well as its economy, recommend it as an adjunct of day care programs, which will permit agencies to reach beyond their organizational boundaries to influence the larger target population of families who make supplemental child care arrangements of many kinds.

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AN EPILOGUE BY A DAY CARE NEIGHBOR: OTHER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN

by

Anita Witt

If, a few years ago, I had been asked what I thought of day care givers, or babysitters, as they were then called, I would have said "who needs them?", and my opinion of mothers who left their children in the care of sitters would have been the same. At that time, I viewed the former somewhat as peddlers in human flesh, the latter as selfish and unnatural creatures, and I had no feeling of kinship for either. However, when I was asked to be a day care neighbor, I had to revise my views with regard to babysitters, working mothers, and most painful of all, with regard to myself.

Already during my first interview with Alice Collins of the Day Care Neighbor Service I came face to face with a startling fact: not only had I frequently used babysitters myself, but I had also "babysat" for others. Whatever opinion I held of either role, I would have to include myself in it in the future. Moreover, there was not a mother among my acquaintances who had not given and used day care at one time or another, either for money, or in a more or less informal exchange of services. Although during my years as a day care neighbor most of our calls came from working mothers, every mother needs to use day care at least occasionally, whether she goes to the dentist, works her turn at nursery school, or simply needs a day off. Day care, then, is a fact of life for mothers, and working mothers are a fact of life for the day care neighbor. No longer could I

divide them into two neat little boxes, those who "had to work" and could therefore be forgiven, and those who "didn't have to" and could under no circumstances be forgiven for running off and leaving their children. I came to realize that while lack of money may be the most pressing reason for going to work, there are other needs that are equally valid. One woman may need success and recognition in her profession, and many children may need her professional services. Another may genuinely feel that someone else is better equipped to care for her child, or she may need the company of other adults. Being with small children day after day is not every woman's cup of tea. On the other hand, for those of us who have chosen to stay home and care for our children and perhaps for the children of others as well, it is vitally important to feel that child care, too, is a valuable contribution, no less than the most highly skilled profession. Giving day care is not a task that is done in one way only, for instance, like boiling water or turning on a light switch, but it may be done in an infinite number of ways, depending on the women and children involved. Good day care requires talent, and a certain amount of skill.

Preventing bad care, promoting good care, was one of the functions of the Day Care Neighbor Service. Matching mothers, children, and day care givers was another. Usually the main consideration was the age of the child and location: staying in the same neighborhood, perhaps in walking distance of the home, seemed to work best in most cases. For school age children it might mean walking home with a friend from school and staying at his house. Over and over again I discovered that the day care giver I could recommend was a woman who was previously known to the mother, but whom she would have never dared to ask. Apparently many women are afraid to ask their neighbors to babysit for them; such a question would be considered in bad taste, unless through a third person, and this, of

course, was the function of the day care neighbor. Although money might not be a motive mentioned by the potential day care giver, paying and being paid is essential for regular and lasting arrangements. Day care is a service, regardless of the financial status of the people involved. Yet it seems difficult and awkward for most people to make financial arrangements with their neighbors, and here, too, the day care neighbor could be helpful as an outside adviser.

Another surprise that lay in store for me was how difficult it is to evaluate the quality of day care. There may be day care givers whose services are inadequate by any standards, and there are others who do an excellent job, but the majority fall in between, and whether they are acceptable or not depends only on the individuals involved. For instance, some mothers are very particular about the day care giver's housekeeping habits, a disorderly appearing house appals them. Other mothers seem to be oblivious of household dirt but demand a friendly and sympathetic personality. Some want day care givers to be about their own age, others expect a grandmotherly type. One mother objected to an otherwise excellent day care giver because she reminded her of her grandmother! Finding the right day care giver was always a great source of satisfaction to me, expressing matchmaking urges.

Sometimes I was able to recruit women among my acquaintances who would otherwise not have thought of giving day care, but were willing and did an excellent job once they realized that they were needed and had something to give. A great handicap in recruiting good day care givers was the low status associated with this type of work, improving this situation was one of the reasons why the word "babysitter" was replaced with the more awkward expression "day care givers". Too often it is assumed that women only give day care from dire financial need, or because they are unskilled to do anything else. But changing words alone is not enough, and one of the func-

tions of the Day Care Neighbor Service was to give to child care some of the status and importance it deserves.

Another difficulty we encountered was providing continuous care. Changes in day care arrangements were frequent, sometimes because the parents or the babysitter moved out of the neighborhood, sometimes because one or the other was dissatisfied with the arrangement and quite vocal about the reasons for her dissatisfaction. Sometimes, unfortunately, changes were made purely for reasons of profit without regard for the children involved. A mother might run up a babysitting bill with the day care giver, and try to get out of paying it by changing sitters. A day care giver might start by giving care to two or three children of the same family, and discontinue as soon as she had an opportunity to care for three single children instead, which would give her a better income for the same amount of work. Many times the reason for change was not known. Occasionally a mother would call in an urgent request for a babysitter the very next day, and after we found one, she would never show up, apparently having changed her mind before the arrangement even began.

Sometimes we were able to propose a combined program of day care and nursery school, through the cooperation of Friendly House Community Center. Three or four-year old children who were in day care close enough to the Center to be taken there by the day care giver or by one of the nursery school mothers, could attend, and their working mothers would then be excused from taking their turn in the co-op. These were children who would otherwise have missed the opportunity to go to nursery school, and it added some excitement and variety to their routine.

And then there were those times when a request could not be met, usually because of difficult working hours, or because the child was too young. Women who wanted to give care usually had definite preferences as

to the age of the children in order to fit them into their own families comfortably, and few wanted to take care of small babies and toddlers. Occasionally the opposite happened: I would receive a call from a woman who was very anxious to give day care, perhaps in urgent need of extra money, but her request could not be filled promptly enough. By the time we had a client for her, she had gone to work, sometimes asking us to find a place for her to leave her own child. A year later she might call again, having quit her job, and looking for another opportunity to earn a little money at home. The ambivalence of the mother who is not forced to work, but could use an extra income of her own or felt not fully occupied at home showed up over and over again. If she stayed home and earned nothing, she would be frustrated and restless, if she went to work, she would feel guilty toward her children. Sometimes giving day care provided the answer, and sometimes just talking about her problems seemed to help. Many times I was unable to help, and women would thank me again and again. I asked myself, "for what"? Apparently just trying to help, or at least listening, is appreciated by people in need.

Sometimes I felt a great need to talk myself. At such times, or when I felt unsure of a decision, or needed additional information on homes in any given area or for a particular age child, I was able to call the Day Care Neighbor Service office for ideas and advice. I could have a professional consultation at my fingertips, free of charge. These consultations proved not only to be enjoyable, but to fulfill a need in my own life: the feeling that I was doing something of importance, something worth talking about, something someone else understood, something worth getting paid for.

And one day it came to me, with something of a shock, that I actually liked children. Of course, I had always admitted to a reluctant affection for our own, but other people's? Other people's children were to be

avoided, whenever possible. And suddenly they mattered. Even children I had never seen mattered, where they would spend their day, or go after school, and how they would be received. They mattered, I suppose, because I felt somewhat responsible.

Even their mothers began to matter, perish the thought! My whole life changed: I could no longer get annoyed with inefficient waitresses or girls at check-out stands; they were probably, at this moment, worried about their children and where they had left them. I began to realize, with alarm, how many mothers there are who support their children, and what a monumental task this is to undertake by a woman alone. And make no mistake about it, gentlemen, next time you are about to blow your stack because the cocktail waitress gave you bourbon instead of scotch, you are probably blowing your stack at a mother who has to make a living. Instead of impatience, she deserves respect.

In a way, of course, being a day care neighbor is not very different from what most housewives and mothers are doing without even knowing it. Helping someone find a sitter, exchanging information about sitters, recommending one over another, these are every day occurrences as much as exchanging recipes or pinning up a hem. The Day Care Neighbor Service only helped to make this ordinary occurrence more effective, amplifying it, so to speak, like a microphone might amplify a whisper. The service terminated more than a year ago, and I miss it. I still get calls from people in need but I am no longer any more effective than I was before the service started. I know of a few people in my immediate neighborhood who might give care, but that's all. I have no longer access to the information gathered by the other day care neighbors, filed and indexed at the office. After the service ended, I still kept records for some time, but since they don't go anywhere I gave up keeping them altogether.

Some day, I hope, the service will be revived. By then, perhaps, a number of adequate day care centers will be available, increasing the spectrum of possibilities and increasing the function of the future day care neighbor, who will be far less handicapped by the present limitations. That she will still be needed I have no doubt; the more the choices, the more need for informed advice. Whether a child would be better off in a center, or with a friend or neighbor, or alternating between the two, these will be decisions parents will have to make, and they will be easier to make with an informed listener at hand.

APPENDIX A

CODES AND FREQUENCIES

This appendix includes the codes used for the record-keeping system of the Day Care Neighbor Service. The frequencies shown are for the 24 months of data collection.

In addition, two composite tables are included that show the record of referrals to each day care neighbor and the record of completed arrangements matched through each day care neighbor.

Frequencies for Items on the McBee Cards for 589 User Requests

Item		Frequency
Geographic Area Care Desired		
Northwest		322
Southeast		267
Referral Source		
A day care neighbor or project office		391
Agency		163
Advertisement or word of mouth		29
Unknown		6
Ages of Day Care Children		
Under 3 months		29
3 months under 1 year		102
1 year under 2 years		125
2 years under 3 years		108
3 years under 4 years		132
4 years under 5 years		100
5 years under 6 years		119
6 years under 7 years		70
7 years under 8 years		45
8 years and older		110
Number of requests no ages available		16
Total number of children for 573 requests		940
One Parent Home		128
Reason Care Desired		
Regular activity		435
Working	362	
Attending school	10	
Planning to work or attend school	63	
Special circumstances		150
Recreation or relief for mother	42	
Other (see Chapter Five)	76	
Unspecified	32	
Unknown		4
Amount of Time Care Desired		
Full time		323
Part time		133
Irregular		122
Unknown		11
Where Care Desired		
User's home		160
Giver's home		401
Unknown		28

Frequencies for 589 User Requests

Item	Frequency
Previous Day Care Experience	
Amount	
None previously	34
Some experience	332
Unknown	223
Type of Care (record any mentioned)	
With a relative	90
With a neighbor or friend	259
With center care	42
Place of Care (record any mentioned)	
Mother's home	102
Giver's home	200
This Arrangement	
Month Care Requested	
*January	63
*February	52
**March	36
**April	44
**May	42
**June	30
**July	39
*August	57
*September	75
*October	71
*November	49
*December	31
Year Care Requested	
1967	202
1968	335
1969 (January and February only)	52
Outcome of Request	
Matched by a day care neighbor	288
Matched by other	174
No arrangement made	75
Unknown	52
Type of Care (for N=462 matched requests)	
With a relative	20
With a friend, neighbor or through a DCN	416
With center care	13
Unknown	13

*Includes 2 NW months and 2 SE months

**Includes 2 NW months and 1 SE month

Frequencies for 589 User Requests

Item	Frequency
This Arrangement (cont'd)	
Place of Care (for N=462 matched requests)	
User's home	98
Giver's home	333
Day care center	13
Unknown	18
Duration (for N=462 matched requests)	
Under 1 week	68
1 week under 2 weeks	23
2 weeks under 1 month	59
1 month under 2 months	48
2 months under 3 months	37
3 months under 6 months	32
6 months under 9 months	20
9 months under 1 year	10
1 year under 2 years	3
2 years under 3 years	1
Unknown or ongoing as of 3/1/69	161
Termination (for N=462 matched requests)	
By user	216
By giver	75
Unknown or ongoing as of 3/1/69	171

Frequencies for Day Care Neighbor Activity on 589 User Requests

	Day Care Neighbor	Total Referrals	Total Matches
NORTHWEST	#1	182	53
	#2	112	41
	#3	137	17
	#5	71	28
	#8	64	15
SOUTHEAST	#7	80	40
	#11	78	43
	#12	71	12
	#13	15	7
	#14	28	10
	#15	10	6
	#16	29	12
	#19	9	4
NW		566	154
SE		320	134
Total for the 13 Day Care Neighbors		886	288

Frequencies for Items on the McBee Cards for 272 Giver Requests

Item	Frequency
Geographic Area of Residence	
Northwest	105
Southeast	167
Referral Source	
A day care neighbor or project office	248
Agency	14
Advertisement or word of mouth	10
One Parent Home	70
Amount of Time Preferred to Give Care	
Full time	178
Part time	38
Irregular	53
Unknown	3
Where Caregiving Preferred	
User's home	66
Giver's home	199
Unknown	7
Previous Day Care Experience	
Amount	
None previously	21
Some experience	153
Unknown	98
Type of Care (record any mentioned)	
With a relative	11
With a neighbor or friend	126
With center care	2
Place of Care (record any mentioned)	
Mother's home	34
Giver's home	101
This Arrangement	
(For givers "this arrangement" information is only available for the initial match. Subsequent arrangements were not recorded on the giver card.)	
Outcome of Request	
Matched by a day care neighbor	106
Matched by other	53
No arrangement made	100
Unknown	13

Frequencies for 272 Giver Requests

Item	Frequency
This Arrangement (cont'd)	
Type of Care (for N=159 matched requests)	
To a relative	0
To a friend or neighbor or through a DCN	159
To center care	0
Place of care (for N=159 matched requests)	
User's home	44
Giver's home	113
Unknown	2
Duration (for N=159 matched requests)	
Under 1 week	22
1 week under 2 weeks	6
2 weeks under 1 month	16
1 month under 2 months	17
2 months under 3 months	16
3 months under 6 months	20
6 months under 9 months	6
9 months under 1 year	2
1 year under 2 years	2
2 years under 3 years	0
Unknown or ongoing as of 3/1/69	52
Termination (for N=159 matched requests)	
By user	61
By giver	46
Unknown or ongoing as of 3/1/69	52

Frequencies for Day Care Neighbor Activity on 272 Giver Requests

	Day Care Neighbor	Total Referrals	Total Matches
NORTHWEST	#1	47	17
	#2	39	6
	#3	40	7
	#5	18	1
	#8	20	8
SOUTHEAST	#7	61	25
	#11	41	14
	#12	49	12
	#13	3	0
	#14	13	4
	#15	8	5
	#16	24	5
	#19	4	2
NW		164	39
SE		203	67
Total for the 13 Day Care Neighbors		367	106

Record of Referrals to Each Day Care Neighbor

	DCN #	Months of Role Duration	Total Referrals	Mean Number Referrals Per Month	Total User Referrals	Mean Number User Referrals Per Month	Total Giver Referrals	Mean Number Giver Referrals Per Month
NORTHWEST	1	24	229	9.54	182	7.58	47	1.96
	2	24	151	6.29	112	4.67	39	1.63
	3	24	177	7.38	137	5.71	40	1.67
	5	24	89	3.71	71	2.96	18	.67
	8	16	84	5.25	64	4.00	20	1.25
SOUTHEAST	7	17	141	8.29	80	4.71	61	3.59
	11	18	119	6.61	78	4.33	41	2.28
	12	18	120	6.67	71	3.94	49	2.72
	13	7	18	2.57	15	2.14	3	.43
	14	18	41	2.28	28	1.56	13	.72
	15	16	18	1.13	10	.63	8	.50
	16	8	53	6.63	29	3.63	24	3.00
	19	6	13	2.17	9	1.50	4	.67
	NW	112	730	6.52	566	5.05	164	1.46
	SE	108	523	4.84	320	2.96	203	1.88
	Total	220	1253	5.70	886	4.03	367	1.67

Record of Matches Through This Day Care Neighbor

	DCN #	Months of Role Duration	Total Matches	Mean Number Matches per Month	Total User Matches	Mean Number User Matches Per Month	Total Giver Matches	Mean Number Giver Matches Per Month
NORTHWEST	1	24	70	2.92	53	2.21	17	.71
	2	24	47	1.96	41	1.71	6	.25
	3	24	24	1.00	17	.71	7	.29
	5	24	29	1.21	28	1.17	1	.04
	8	16	23	1.44	15	.94	8	.50
SOUTHEAST	7	17	65	3.82	40	2.35	25	1.47
	11	18	57	3.17	43	2.39	14	.78
	12	18	24	1.33	12	.67	12	.67
	13	7	7	1.00	7	1.00	0	0
	14	18	14	.78	10	.56	4	.22
	15	16	11	.69	6	.38	5	.31
	16	8	17	2.13	12	1.50	5	.63
	19	6	6	1.00	4	.67	2	.33
NW		112	193	1.72	154	1.38	39	.35
SE		108	201	1.86	134	1.24	67	.62
Total		220	394	1.79	288	1.31	106	.48